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On Foreign Element in the Tantra [1]

The Tantra still remains an enigma to us. Very little work has been done in this domain and very little attempt has been made in the interpretation of its doctrines. But the fact remains that a vast literature has been written on it—a literature which is mostly found in manuscripts. The Tantras can be broadly divided into two classes—orthodox and heterodox. The orthodox Tantras are mainly represented by the Āgamas, the Yāmalas and their supplements. The heterodox Tantras are both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical and are represented by the texts of a number of Tantrik schools like Kuḷācāra, Vāmācāra, Sahajayāna, Vajrayāna etc. In the present article I will deal with a number of indications contained in the Tantrik literature which definitely points out that mystic practices of origin crept into the heterodox class of Indian Tantras at a very early date.

Mm. H. P. Sastri in his *Catalogue of the Palm-Leaf Mss. of the Darbar Library, Nepal* (1905, p. lxxix) quotes a very significant stanza from the *Kubjikā-tantra* which points out that the Kubjikā School of Tantras is probably of foreign origin :

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[1] The Substance of this paper was read at the *Anthropological Section* of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna, December, 1930.

Gaccha tvam bhārate varṣe' dhikārāya sarvataḥ |
Pīṭhopapīṭhakṣetreṣu kuru sṛṣṭir anekadhā ||

"Go to India to establish yourself in the whole country and make manifold creations in the sacred places of primary and secondary importance."

In another place in the same Tantra the Tantras of this school are said to have originated among the potters, a low class Hindu, and this is why they are said to have belonged to the *Kulālikāmnāya.* It is prescribed there that the Goddess Kubjikā should be worshipped in the house of a potter.

A certain number of Tantrik practices styled Cīnācāras have been much discussed by scholars. The *Tārā-Tantra* adopted by both Hinduism and Buddhism says that the cult of Cīna-Tārā came from the country of Mahā-Cīna. Vasiṣṭha, one of the greatest sages of Brāhmaṇism, is said to have gone to the country of Mahā-Cīna to meet Buddha, who was to be found at that time neither in India nor in Tibet. Vasiṣṭha was initiated there by Buddha to the secret doctrines of Cīnācāra and subsequently came back to India to propagate them. In this Cīnācāra Prof. Sylvain Lévi finds distant echo of the secret societies which existed in China (*Le Nepal*, I, pp. 346f.). On my part while discussing one of the Sādhanas published by Dr. Binayatosh Bhattacharya (no. 127 of the *Sādhanamāla*) I have tried to establish the identity of Mahā-Cīna-Tārā with Ekajaṭā, whose cult is said to have been recovered by Siddha Nāgārjuna in Tibet (I. H. Q., vol. VI, pp. 584ff.). The Sādhana of the Goddess Ekajaṭā was discovered by him in the country of Bhoṭa (*Ārya-Nāgārjunapādaiḥ Bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam*). The description of Ekajaṭā is found in six different Sādhanas (123-128). It closely agrees with that of Mahācīnakrama-Tārā as found in Sādhanas 100 and 101. A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *Bīja-mantra*; in the case of Cīnakrama-Tārā, it is composed of three letters, and in the case of Ekajaṭā, it is sometimes composed of 4 and sometimes of 5 letters. Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu Pantheon Tārā, Ugratārā, Kkajaṭā, and Mahā-Nīlasarasvatī. The dhyānas of these goddesses as found in the Hindu Tantras literally correspond with those found in the Buddhist Sādhanas. In my article already referred to I have also quoted from the *Sammoha Tantra* found by me in Nepal the following significant passage about the origin of this goddess :—

"The Maheśvara said unto Brahmā, hear from me about Mahā Nīlasarasvatī with attention. It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas. There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru. The mother, goddess Nīlogratārā was born there... the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a blue colour. There was a sage called Akṣobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *muni*, on the northern side of the Meru. It was he who meditated first on the goddess (?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cīnadeśa at the time of the great deluge."

According to this text Nīlasarasvatī or Ugratārā was born in a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru; which was included in the Cīnā-deśa. I suggested that *Cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with the names of so many lakes to the west and north of the *T'ien shan* that is in the pure Mongolian zone.

There are ample evidences to prove that the zone of heterodox Tantras went far beyond the natural limits of India. Some of the Tantras divide the Tantrik world into three *krāntās* or regions, Viṣṇukrāntā, Aśvakrāntā and Rathakrāntā. Viṣṇukrāntā comprises the region from the Vindhyas to Chaṭṭala (Chittagong), Aśvakrāntā, the region from the Vindhya to Mahācīna including Nepal, and Rathakrāntā from the Vindhya to the great ocean including Kamboj and Java (see Avalon, *Principles of the Tantra*, vol. II, Introd.).

In the *Sammoha Tantra* (fol. 7 a-b) we find a similar enumeration of Tantrik zones. The zones are here fixed according to two different Tantrik modes, known as *Kādi* and *Hādi*. The countries in which the *Kādi* mode is in vogue are the following :—

Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kerala, Kāśmira, Kāmrūpa, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, Drāviḍa, Tailiṅga, Malayādri, Karnāṭa, Avanti, Vaidarbha, Ābhīra, Mālava, Caula, Cola, Kamboja, Videha, *Bālhika*, *Kirāta*, Kaikaṭa, *Airāka*, *Bhoṭa*, *Cīna*, *Mahācīna*, Nepāla, Śīlahaṭṭa, Gauḍa, Kośala, Magadha, Snotkala (?Utkala), Kuntala, *Hūṇa*, Koṅkaṇa, Kekaya, Śūrasena, Kaurava, Siṃhala, *Pulinda*, Kaccha, Madra, Sauvīra, Lāṭa, Barbara, Matsya and Sindhu.

The countries in which the *Hādi* mode is in vogue are the following :—

Aṅga, Vaṇga, Kaliṅga, Suvīraka, Kāśmira, Kāmboja, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Mahārāṣṭra, Māḷava, Nepāla, Kerala, Cola, Cala, Gauḍa, Malaya, Siṃhala, Voṅka(?), Vido (?), Vyonda(?), Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Malāṭa, Panaṭa, Andhaka, Pulindaka, *Hūṇa*, Kaura, *Gandhāra*, Vidarbha, Videha, *Bālhika*, Barbara, Kekaya, Kośala, Kuntala, Kirāta, Śūrasena, Sevara, (? Sauvīra), Banaṭa, Taṅkaṇa, Koṅkaṇa, Matsya, Madra, *Maida*, Saindhava, *Pārśvakika*, Dyorjāla, Yavana, Jala, Jalandhara, Salva (? Śālva), Sindhu.

Two points are noteworthy about the zones described above. A number of countries beyond India are enumerated and described as the centres of Tantrik culture. These are—Bālhika (Balkh), Kirāta (the hill tribes of the Himalayan zone), Bhoṭa (Tibet), Cīna (China), Mahācīna (Mongolia ?), Maida (Media ?), Parśvakika (? Pārasīka—Persia), Airāka (Irak ?), Kamboja, Hūṇa. Yavana, Gandhāra and Nepāla. It is not to be literally believed that Tantrik culture ever spread to all those distant countries. The truth is perhaps that some heterodox schools of Tantras associated themselves with those countries either through tradition or through the community of some mystic beliefs, of which the history is lost to us. We should further note in this connection that even within the limits of India some non-Aryan groups of people like Pulinda, Kirāta, Barbara, Taṅkaṇa, Ābhīra, Kuntala etc. are connected with that paticular culture.

Another important point to be noted is that within the limits of India the countries of the outer zone only are enumerated. The Mid-Land (Madhyadeśa), the country of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical culture, is practically excluded except the doubtful reference to Kaura or Kaurava and Kośala which may very well be Southern Kośala. In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VI, pp. 98ff.) I have tried to establish that the Mid-Land was the country of the orthodox Tantrik culture of which the 18 Āgamas and their supplements formed the sacred literature. But the countries around it like Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñcī, Kośala etc. were not fit places for its cultivation. The Brahmins of those countries were unfit to be priests according to the orthodox Tantras. So it is evident that in these countries on the outer zone grew later on a sort of Tantrik culture which was of a different inspiration.

The unknown compiler of the *Saṃmoha Tantra* does not remain contented by simply enumerating the different countries. He pretends to possess some knowledge of the Tantras current in some of these countries. Thus on fol. 27b while referring to the Tantras of different schools, he says that the country of Cīna possesses 100 primary and 7 subsidiary Tantras (*śataṃ tantrāṇi cīne tu upatantrāṇi* *sapta ca*), Drāviḍa has 20 primary and 25 subsidiary Tantras, Kerala has 60 subsidiary Tantras and so on.

The sacred centres (pīṭhasthānas) of primary importance, as found in the heterodox Hindu Tantras and the Buddhist Tantras are four in number, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Oḍḍiyāna and Jālandhara. Pūrṇagiri has not yet been definitely identified. But there is no doubt that Uḍḍiyāna corresponds to the Swat valley, of which the people used to make "the acquisition of magical formulæ their occupation" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 225) already in the time of Hiuen Tsang in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Jālandhara and Kāmrūpa have not changed their names since ancient times. All these three places are situated on the high roads leading to countries outside India—Uḍḍiyāna situated in the valley of the Swat river, easily accessible to the Upper valley of the Indus, has been the meeting place of the peoples of different origin. It is situated on the high road that connects the Upper valley of the Indus with Balkh, Samarcand etc. on the one hand and the Pamirs, Khotan, Kashgar etc. on the other by the valley of the Gilgit. Jālandhara is situated on another highway that connects Tibet with India through the Shipki pass, and Kāmrūpa has to a great extent been the centre of activities of foreign peoples who have been coming down from the Northern and the North-eastern hills since very ancient times. It is probably not without significance that Bhāskaravarman who was the king of Kāmrūpa told a Chinese envoy to India that his forefathers had come to India from the country of Mahācīna and requested him to send a Sanskrit translation of *Tao-te-king*, the sacred text of Taoism and a portrait of Lao tzu, its founder. In ancient times a land route connected Assam with Western and Southern China through the Patkoi hills and Upper Burma, and this route was generally followed by the invaders and immigrants from the North-East.

II

I will now proceed to deal with particular Tantrik texts that contain direct references to practices of decidedly foreign origin. The *Jayadratha Yāmala*, which I have elsewhere proved to be a compilation of the 8th century A.D., while discussing the special doctrines of different Tantrik schools, mentions amongst others the practices of the Lāmās (*Lāmāvarga*), Śākinīs and Yoginīs (*Jayadratha Yāmala*, Ṣaṭka III, folia 187a, 193b). The texts in which these practices are described are sometimes very obscure. Following is roughly the substance :—

The special doctrine of the Lāmās is conducive to spiritual success (*siddhi*). According to it one should not cultivate the company of other gods except Śiva (?). The words of the Guru as embodied in the Tantras may or may not be followed. One should have all worldly desires and need not follow the strict discipline. He should not have satisfaction in (current) religious doctrines and practices. He should think that it is his self that is alone present everywhere and practise self-control in the company of women. He should perform religious acts on particular auspicious days according to the prescribed discipline. He should not be angry even at the gravest provocation. Such is the practice of the group of Lāmās.

According to the special doctrine of the Śākinīs the adept should never divulge the mantras to others. He should practise *samādhi* in company of all women, should always meditate on the *nāda*, take his meals at night and worship Śiva. He should not violate the discipline of his sect during the *Dakṣiṇāyana*, should practise self-control by all means, should maintain his own *Kula* and should avoid the intermixture of *Kulas*. He should have himself undisturbed with respect to body, speech and mind either in his own *Kula* or in that of others. He should have his meals in company of the Yogins. Those who follow the doctrines of the Śākinīs do not uselessly kill animals for the sake of sacrifice.

Now who are the Lāmās and Śākinīs, of whom the special practices are just described? The ḍākinīs, rākiṇīs, lākinīs, śākinīs and hākinīs are mentioned as the female energies (*Śaktis*) of the Tantrik deities respectively called ḍāmeśvaranātha, rāmeśvaranātha, lāmeśvaranātha, kākeśvaranātha, śāmeśvaranātha, and hāmeśvaranātha who together with their śakties, form mystic groups designated under the mnemonic *ḍa ra la ka śa ha*. The Lord of Lāmā is here called Lāmeśvara. Lāmā is not the commonly known Tibetan word *B*la-ma meaning 'scholar', but something different. The Lāmās are mentioned in the Jayadratha Yāmala on two other occasions in the same context (192a) :—

Durlabhā Kāśyapīvarge pañcāmṛtavivardhitā /
Rūpikā Cumbikā Lāmā paravṛttātha pālikā //

Anivarta ca···dvesi janmāntara-samudbhavā /
Vikhyāti raktamādau tu bhrūbhaṅgaḥ kurute tataḥ //
Etastu saṃgamenaiva param siddhim dadanti ca /
Saṃhṛtyārthādaya paścācca punarmarśayet //
.................ālāpenāpi cumbati
Cumbikā sā'nuvijñeyā yoginībaladarpitā...........
Niśvāsai bhairavaista stu Lāmānāṃ tu vinirdiśet //

The Lāmās otherwise called Rūpikā and Cumbikā flourish among the rare group of the Kāśyapīs. Association with them is conducive to spiritual success. They are called Rūpikā because they assume different shapes during their intercourse with others. They are called Cumbikā because they kiss at the very first introduction.

In the *Hevajra Tantra* (Paṭala III fol. 6a) the Lāmās are referred to in the company of the ḍākinīs and called *Khaṇḍarohā* and *Rūpiṇī*.

Dākinī tu tathā Lāmā *Khāṇḍarohā tu Rūpiṇī* /

The Lāmās therefore constituted a mystic group of female Tantrik adepts who had their special practices. The *Sammoha Tantra* (fol. 39b) in another place distinctly refers to a Tantrik practice (vidyā) called Lamayāmnāya i. e. the āmnāya of the Lamas or Lāmās.

The Lāmās are also known from other sources. Waddell in his *Lamaism* (p.364) describes in detail a goddess called in Tibetan Lha-mo. She is also called *pal ldan Lha mo* (Skt. Devī or Śrī Devī). She is the "goddess or the queen of the warring weapons". She "like her great prototype the goddess Durgā of Brāhmaṇism is perhaps the most malignant and powerful of all the demons, and the most dreaded. She is credited with letting loose the demons of disease and her name is scarcely ever mentioned and only then with bated breath and under the title of the great queen. In her pictures she is pictured as surrounded by flame and riding on a white-faced mule, upon a saddle of her own son's skin flayed by herself. She is clad in human skins and is eating human brains and blood from a skull and she wields in her right hand a trident rod. She is publicly worshipped for seven days by the Lāmās of all sects, specially at the end of the 12th month in connection with the prevention of disease for the incoming year. And in the cake offered are added amongst other ingredients the fat of a black goat, blood, wine, dough, and butter and these are placed in a bowl made from a human skull". In Western Tibet Lha-mos and ḍākinīs are represented as beautiful young women but more often with fearful faces etc. to signify their power "to destroy demons whom it is their mission to combat." First in rank stands Lha-mo (Mahākālī), "mother of the gods." She is represented in 15 different forms, but specially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man's head at its end and a skull for cap.

It the district of Kanaur Buddhists believe in (i) Paldan Lamo, the supreme goddess equivalent to Mahākālī, (ii) Sai Lamo or the goddess Devī Bhagavatī, (iii) Sai Lamo or Baṭuka Bhairva (*The Punjab Castes and Tribes*, I, pp. 82, 83, 91 etc.).

We thus see that in Tibet in modern times the Lāmās who are certainly the same as the Lamos are conceived as goddesses of the type of Kālī and worshipped according to rites that can be called Tantrik. It seems that in more ancient times these Lāmās, like many other goddesses of the Tantrik pantheon, were female Tantrik adepts who later on came to be worshipped. It is the practice of these adepts of Tibetan mysticism that is referred to in the Tantrik texts mentioned before. That these Lamos were in the habit of kissing people at their first meeting with them seems to be a direct reference to the Tibetan mode of greeting by showing the tongue.

In this connection I may be permitted to make a few suggestions about the other groups of female adepts of Tantrik mysticism, e.g., the lākinīs, the ḍākinīs, the śākinīs. In Western Tibet, the land of sorcerers and witches, there is a class of sorcerers called Lha-ka (probably Lha-k'a) or god's mouthpiece (also called Ku T'em ba). They "are frequently found in Western Tibet and may be females and in which case the woman may marry without hindrance to her profession. These wizards are especially resorted to for relief of pain" (Ibid., pp. 482 ff.). Lākinīs seem to have been the name adopted in the Tantrik literature for these wizards. Similar types of witches distantly connected with the Dags (the people of Dāgistan) and Śakas were probably referred to in the Tantras as ḍākinīs and śakinīs respectively. Evidence is not wanting to prove that women still have a great rôle in the spiritual life of different peoples of this zone as well as that of Central Asia and Mongolia.[1]

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[1] Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī told me one day that the worship of Lāmādevī is prevalent in some parts of Midnapur. But I have not been able to collect any other information on it. I am

III

I have elsewhere tried to prove that the Tantrik doctrines were usually garbed in a mystic language. In the Buddhist Tantras it is called Sandhābhāṣā or Sandhāvacana. It is sometimes very difficult to penetrate into that language and arrive at the real interpretation of the doctrines.

The Jayadratha Yāmala while describing the special practices of the Lāmās mentions the special language to be used with them. This language is described as monosyllabic (*Ekākṣara-samullāpa*) and may thus be considered to have belonged to the Sino-Tibetan family as the Lāmās themselves belonged to the Tibetan group of mystics. The Lāmās, according to this language, had 24 different names :—Yoginī, Rūpiṇī, Lāmā, Śākinī, Nālinī, Khagī, Culī, Bilā, Trikhagagā, Peśinī, Dehinī, Jalā, Revatī, Bedhanī, Lukī, Paḍabhī, Raktinī, Hisā (?), Karoṭhī, Kaluśī, Bhadrā, Dundubhi, Mukharā, and Āturā. We have already seen that the Lāmās were Rūpikā as they were capable of assuming different shapes. Some of the 24 names enumerated are descriptive of such shapes which they could assume.

A number of words belonging to the language of the Lāmās is mentioned in the Jayadratha Yāmala. A comparison of these words with Tibetan and with other allied languages of the Himalayan zone clearly shows that they were culled from some dialect of that family. There are only two difficulties in establishing the identity of these words. As I have to depend on a single manuscript of the text preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal and as that ms. also is in parts corrupt on account of the negligence of the copyists, I have not always been able to determine the real forms of the words. The words as transcribed in the text always possess a vowel ending though we are told at the outest that the language is a monosyllabic one. We have to remember that the compiler of the text could not always faithfully transcribe the words as they belonged to a foreign tongue. Besides we are not yet in a position to determine the real forms of the words in question as they were in the 8th century A.D., when the text was compiled.

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also informed that a goddess called *Raṅkiṇī* is worshipped at Ghāṭśilā in the Santal Perganas. This goddess may have some connection with our *Rākiṇī*.

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Our knowledge of the Tibetan dialects of that period is still very limited. A few such words are given below :

abhivādana—biṃśa ? Tibetan—gdoṅ-bsu—greeting.
svāgatam—nārisī, bibi ; in the *Sammoha Tantra* (28ᵃ) Nāriśa is said to be the word for *praṇava* according to the traditions of some Tantrik schools (*ūrdhvāmnāye,...nāriśa praṇava parikīrtita*). bibi = *bib cf. Tibetan phibs-bsu meaning 'welcome'.
mātā—Lāsabhā = *lasabh cf. Ma'i tshabs meaning 'mother' in Tibetan. Lha as in Lha-mo means *devī*. The word, therefore, may be connected with Lha tshabs.
bhaginī—bhāginī ?
duhitā—duhinī ?
svaśrū—bhiḥ samanī
cf. Tib pha, a-pha meaning 'father',
bhrātṛjyā—nīmi śīmi ?
patnī—gusu naye, there may be three different words here, gu su, naye ; for the last two cf. Tib. chuṅ ma and Chinese *niu*.
mātula—mātṛṣva ?
pitā—pīdimistho ?
naptā—triminī ?
pitāmaha—bālusi ? for 'grandfather' cf. Tib. po-bo, po-'o-lags ; Sikimese—jo-jo-o.
mātāmaha—pilapite nunoni ?
for 'grandmother'—Tib. mo'o laṭ, a phyi laṭ, Sikimese—a ṅogs, a naṭ.
sura bhakta—airīśaṃ ?
pakṣīrām—āpīsī ?
dadhi—divī ?
ājya—limaṃ ?
bhojana—dekaram, the real word seems to be *de for which cf. Lepca, zo, tha, and Magar jeu, Tib. za-ba.
gūḍha—duma ?
svāminī—japaṃ = *jap cf. Tib. zab meaning 'husbanding.'
pibāmi—barise ?
āgataḥ—enire *eni cf. Newar-wone, Tib. 'on ba etc. meaning 'to come.'
gacchāmi—nigānitesi ; the correct form probably was *nigānire which may contain two words ni, ga and the suffix *re*. cf. Tib. gyo, gyok ; Lepca non ; Murmi, nyu etc.

supta—suraktaṃ = *surot ? cf. Lepca-da, Limbu-īpse, Kirānti-imsa, Gurung-rod.
upta bīja—nībinakā, vulg. nilin ītigī ?
samudra—andhakāyo ?
pṛthivī—anānī cf. Śokpa—wonnish.
parvata—uruka = *uruk cf. Tibetan—ri, Lepca—rok, Bhutanese—rong.
sapta—dveyāsinī ?
nagarāstridaśa—adhenā susurā ?
sādhyā—piśitāla ?
svabhuja—paśābarā.
pakṣī—urba nogā, for bird cf. Tib. byu, Bhutanese bhya, Lepca—pho, Limbu-bu. Newar jhango, jha-ngo, Thochu—marwo. Horpa—gyo.
hasti—ṭiṭilā ?
aśvā—nuka jabā—*nuk jab cf. Lepca—oṅ^k^, Limbu—oṅ^k^, Tib. chibs.
aja—anīḍa = *anīḍ cf. Tib.—ra, Bhutanese—rah. Magar-rha, Gurungra ;
gardabha—kharag ?
gāva—śrota jabān ?
cf. Tib. ba, Lepca—bik, Limbu—bit, Newar—sā, Thochu—sa-lo ; Chepang—yo shyā (a bull)
mahiṣa—anujapā—*anujap
cf. Limbu—sawet, Kiranti—sanwa.
uṣṭra—mīna dvira ?
vyāghra—puranyāsā ?
for 'tiger' cf. Sokpa—par.
mṛga = śīra kolo, probably mistake for *śība kol ?
cf. Chepang—kosya, Tib. śa ba., Tib. (spoken)-śa-p'o ; Ladaki-śa-po.
sarpa—sahinī ?
vijātayaḥ—kahiśeṣa ?

Besides these rapprochements another important fact is to be noted. The few verbs that are mentioned in the list—*enire, barire, nigānire* etc. end in *re*. Hodgson in his Comparative Vocabulary[1] of these languages notes that in Limbu the suffix *ré* is usually found with the verbs. cf. *pāré*—to give, *phéré*—to come, *piré*—to give, *téré*—to take away, *séré*—to kill etc.

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[1] For the comparison I have mostly depended on this Vocabulary of Hodgson.

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The words belonging to the language of the Lāmos discussed above therefore further corroborate the fact that these *yoginīs* belonged to some Tibetan race and that the compiler of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras had a real knowledge of their practices. For facilitating intercourse with them a selection of some common words of their language was also made by them. The mystics, both female and male of India, really used to have regular intercourse with those of other contiguous countries in ancient times, and through this intercourse, exchange of ideas and practices were made. It is for that reason that we still find in the Tantras vestiges of mystic doctrines foreign to India.

THE TEXTS*

I

(*fol. 187*^{a}) अन्यस्मिन् देवतासंगो हास्य......कारयेत् ।
तन्मोक्तं गुरुवाक्यं च विकल्पैर्वावतारयेत् ॥
विषयेषु लोलुपस्तिष्ठेत् नियमे हि अपवाहिनी ।
समयाचारचेष्टासु अप्रमादी सदा भवेत् ॥
आत्मानं सर्व्वतः पश्येत् अहितपरिभावितः ।
नारीचर्यासमुत्थेन संयमो व्रतपालनं ॥
तिथौ तिथैवत कुर्य्यात् नियमैः परिभूषितं ।
स्वविकल्पेन लामानां सम्प्रदाय निवर्त्तते ॥
शौचसञ्चरणे चैव नित्यमक्रोधरो भवेत् ।
इत्यष्टौ समया प्रोक्ता लामावर्गस्य सिद्धिदा ॥

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* From the *Jayadratha Yāmala*, Ṣaṭaka, III, paper ms. no. 375 of the Nepal Darbar Library. I have printed the text as it is without proposing any emendation.

[1] The underlined passages are supposed to be the eleven questions to be put to the Yoginīs while meeting them in deep dark nights. The language in which they are garbed is characterised as *Paiśāca Saṃskṛta* i.e. the Sanskrit of the Piśācas. Nothing could be made out of these questions, though their explanation is given in the verses that follow.

II

fol. 189b) प्रश्नभेदोयं चेव निर्दिष्टपदपद्धतिं ।
योगिनी काश्यपीनां च ज्ञापका शृणु साम्प्रतं ॥
रामिह्वीरघला: श्वोति प्रश्नोऽयं प्रथमो मत: ।
शययोगो मया श्वद्य द्वितीय: परिकीर्त्तित: ॥
द्रव्ये इन्द्रं निलपितेति लामा च तृतीयकं ।
चतुर्थायिनये भीमे चलने गिरते विल: ॥
एषिमासप्तमाजान्तं जंभस्तं भञ्जकामि च ।
दुर्भेद्यो पञ्चमं प्रश्नं कथितस्तव सुव्रते ॥
(*fol. 190a*) एते प्रासारुह्यात्यानि षष्ठस्तु परिकीर्त्तित: ।
इति कीलरुह्यायोगं योगानि सप्तम: परं ॥
एत व्याधिप्रसुप्तिय फेनेमेनद्विमीमति ।
अष्टमे देवि दुर्भेद्य: प्रश्नो योगीश्वरैरपि ॥
तिमी दिवितलांगानि वीवि मीनमीनला ।
गमनेति महाप्रश्नो नवमो दुर्गम: पर: ॥
फिनीमह्वा सुनीमह्वा नाराम्वि नेनरासह्वत् ।
करासरिणि दशमा मात्रीणामपि च तथा ॥
दुर्भेद्योऽयं महाप्रश्न: ।
योनिसश्रिषसरुहरे शेमयुरफलं दुरुदहं ॥
नाह्नतमानेति तथा एकादशमो महाप्रश्न: ।
अन्धकारे महाघोरे देशाचं संस्कृतं वदेत् ॥
कोटयाव्यद्यभेदोयं प्रथमस्य वरानने ।
नाम्नं भितोमयामस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रभेदने ॥
पिवाम्यद्य प्रभंगिं वा तृतीयस्य विभेदनं ।
अवकारनता लामा एभिमिच्छति सुव्रते ॥
चतुर्थस्य तु देवेशि भेदनं परिकीर्त्तितं ।
जम्बसप्तकसप्तुक्ती एवनाममोदक: ॥
भवयाम्यद्य एह्लेति पञ्चमस्य वरानने ।
प्रमादमिखरावड़ विलंबं श्रुतिमिच्चं ॥
मत्वा मनोरमां लघ्वां भागमिष्यति तत्पर: ।
महाविद्वि महाघोर मगने न महातपे ॥
गत्वा तु मातुपावड़ा भागमिष्यति यामी ।

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प्राणजन्तु नरेंद्रस्य पिबामीत्यष्टमे स्मृतः ॥
सुरालये नगारूढ़ा गम्भीगा नवमस्य तु ।
महानासाचरे शते स्तो तस्य तु रोचनं ॥
गृहीत्वा तस्य काष्ठस्य आगच्छामीपरस्य तु ।
इति प्रश्नाभेदाश्च योगिनीनां समागमे ॥
कथितां तव देवेशि गुह्यात् गुह्यतराः पराः ॥
अतिगुह्यतरा देवि शृणुभाषा विकल्पनं ।
अभिवादन धिंश्रीति नारिसि विवि स्वागतं ॥
लासभा इति माता तु भागिनी भागिनी स्मृता ।
दुहिनी दुहितेत्याहुः श्वश्रु भिः समनी विदुः ॥
नौमिशीमिति भातृज्या पत्नी गुह्युनये तथा ।
मातृष्वे मातुलः प्रोक्तो पीड़िमिस्थो पिता तथा ॥
मिमिनीति तथा नप्ता वालुसीति पितामह ।
मातामह पिलपिते तुनोनिः परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥
ऐरीशं सुरभक्तो आपीसि पचीरामुच्यते ।
दिसी दधि लिमं आज्यं टेकरं भोजनं तथा ॥
दुम गूढ़स्तु विज्ञेयो जपमीतीति स्वामिनी ।
पिवासीति वरिरे एनिरे चेति आगतः ॥
निगानितेषी गच्छामि सुवक्तं सुप्तमुच्यते ।
उपविन्ये नीविभका भाषा निलिनीतिगी तथा ॥
अन्वकायो समुद्रस्य अनानी पृथिवीस्मृता ।
ऊरुका पर्व्वता देवि सप्तदेयासिनी तथा ॥
अधेना सुसुराङ्गेया नगरास्त्रिदशा स्मृता ।
पिष्टिताल तथा साध्या सुभूजास्तु पशावरा ।
उर्व्वनोगा तथा पक्षी टिटिला हस्तिनस्तथा ।
तुक जवा तथा अश्वा अनीड़स्तु अजं विदुः ।
महिषः अनुजपा देवि उष्ट्रो मीनह्विरस्तथा ।
गर्द्दभो खरगः प्रोक्तो गावः श्रीतजवान् तथा
पुरन्यासास्तथा व्याघ्रं शीरकोली मृगस्तथा ।
सहिनीता तथा सर्पं कहिशेष विजातयः ॥
यक्षिकानां वरारोहे द्रव्यसंग्रहणं स्मृतं ।
परस्परविरोधेन एषां चैव महानघे ॥

उत्पद्यन्त सहस्राणि स्वभावाभारगाणि तु ॥
योगिनी रूपिणी लामा शाकिनी हीणालिनी खगी ।
चुलिविला वीखगगा पेशिनी देहिनी जला ।
रेवती वेधनी लुकी पड़भी रक्तिनी ह्विषा ।
करोठी कालुशी भद्रा दुन्दुभी मुखरातुरा ।
(*fol. 191a*) चतुर्व्विंशतिनामानि लामानां परिभाषणे ॥
पिशितं फल्गुषं मांसं पैशाचं राक्षसागणं ।
ऊर्ध्वं पवित्रं सर्व्वस्व प्राणिजं देहधारिणं ॥
द्रवं पिच्छिलकं प्राणं जसोसौरजमन्तकं ।
करं पीतं तथा श्वेतं दशमं जाधिरं स्मृतं ॥
काष्ठं शपं मृतं सुप्तं असंस्कारं चितात्मजं ।
शतप्राणमनासं च विमुक्तं प्रेतलक्षणं ।
शून्यं समानसंस्थानं क्लेदवासं मृतस्य तु ।
भक्षजुषखदं खादं पिवं भूक्षं अशीक्षदं ।
प्राप्यं वोटं च एतानि दश नामानि भक्षणे ।
प्रेतालयं महाघोरं श्मशानं निशिभूषणं ।
सर्व्वोंनागिषणं भीषं चण्डराक्षसधामकं ।
दीपनं चैव भाषं च अन्धकारं तमोत्कटं ॥
लामावासं महासिद्धिं शतज्योति शतस्थलं ।
शिवालयं तु देवेशि श्मशानं परिकीर्त्तितं ।
गुह्यात् गुह्यतरं मन्त्रं सिद्धिख्याता शृणुष्व च ।
नायुमाशीस्त्रिया देवि पुस्तं गुक्षू च भक्षणं ।
समाताजीश्च नेफेति पक्षी चैव शिखं स्मृतं ।
लसं तष्ठो तथा रक्तं भीमां संफेचो कुर्य्यात् ।
दाश्रितं च तथा योगी लामालाक्षीतिरूपिणी ।
कुरु शाकिनी दुरेति भल्पां चुल्लीमहायुषं ।
क्षां यागां न्नं तथा देवि विज्ञेयमभिवादनात् ।
एकाक्षरा समुल्लापा एते मातृगणस्य तु ॥

ADDITIONAL NOTE—While examining some Mss. in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* for other studies, I have recently come upon another text concerning the Lāmās. It is found in the Buddhist compendium called *Abhidhānottara*, preserved in the Government collection (see also H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of the Government Collection of Buddhist Mss.* 1917, No. 10759). The Ms. was copied in 1298 A.D. One of the sec-

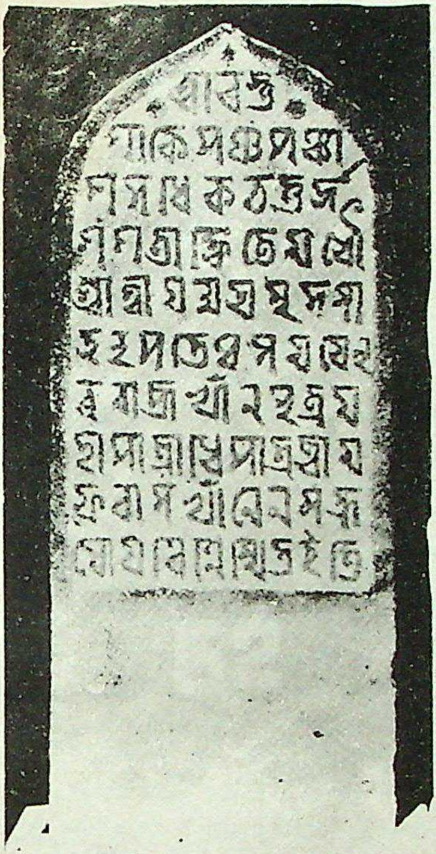
tions (*paṭala*) is called the *Lāmālakṣaṇa-paṭala* (fol. 836 ff.). The Lāmās are conceived here as female ascetics of different types. One of the types is described as possessed with well proportioned limbs (*samyagaṅgāvayava*), and round face (*mukhaṃ yasyās tu dṛśyate parimaṇḍalaṃ*). They have long eye-lashes, and are well-dressed (*suvastrā*), beautiful and truthful (*saumyā, satyavādinī*). They are faithful to their true religion and brave sisters (*saddharmaratā nityaṃ vīrabhagīnyaḥ*). The *dharma* and *karma* mudrās are to be used with them. Another type of *Lāmās* has long lips (*lamboṣṭhī*), red grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*), auspicious looks and are fair like the Campaka flowers (*śubhagā dhanyā gaurī campaka-sannibhā*). They are tall (*dīrghā*), have fearful faces (*karālā*) and are fond of coloured dresses (*vicitra-vasana-priyā*). They laugh and play and stand obstructing the route (*hasate ramate caiva mārgam ākramya tiṣṭhati*). The *śūla mudrā* is to be used with them.

A third type of *Lāmās* is red and fair (*rakta-gaurā*) and has red, grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*). They have wavy hairs and put on a sort of head-dress (*kuñcitā ca tathā keśā paṭṭabandha śire tathā*) and they have one wrinkle on their forehead (*lalāṭe dṛsyate caiva ekarekhā*). They are long necked, and fond of singing. They are particularly restless and save in quarrels (*calaccittā viśeṣeṇa kalaheṣu ca rakṣate*). The *śakti mudrā* is to be used with them.

The last type of *Lāmās* is short statured and is fond of yellow cloths (*hrasvā sthūla-jaṅghā pītavastra-priyā*) ; they have dark grey eyes (*kṛṣṇapiṅgalalocanā*) and are dreadful looking (*karālavikṛtāghorā sthūlā syāt sthūlavaktrajī | lamboṣṭhī kṛṣṇavarṇā* ca *koṭarākṣī rugṇa-nāsikā ||*). They are fond of dancing, have dark colour and are charming (*nṛtya-gandharvakuśalā meghavarṇā manoharā*). The *Nāga-mudrā* is to be used with them. Such Lāmās are called *Heruka-lāmās* (*ŚrīHerukāṇāṃ ca lāmānām etadbhavati lakṣṇaṃ*).

The text further speaks of the *ḍākinīs* and the symbolic language to be used with them. I will deal with this symbolic language along with other similar Tantric devices in my next article. During my stay in Nepal I did not succeed in getting any information either about the Lāmos or Lāmo devī. I am however informed by some Nepalese of Nayakot that there are temples of Lāmo devīs in the interior of Nepal. The Tibetan Bla-mas only are entitled to enter the temples for worshipping them. It is currently believed also that if any body enters the temple he is sure to die.

P. C. BAGCHI



Dhorail Inscription of the Reign of Mahmud Shah, Śaka 1455.

I.H.Q., MARCH, 1931

Dhorail Inscription of the Reign of Mahmud Shah : Śaka 1455

The inscribed stone under notice was discovered by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, at the village of Dhorail, in the district of Dinajpur, in course of one of his early tours in North Bengal for investigation and collection of antiquities of old Varendra. It is now being exhibited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society.

The inscription is cut on a sand-stone slab pointed at the top, measuring 39″ high × 15½″ broad × 5″ thick. The writing covers a space of 25″ × 14″, and is arranged in 10 lines on one side of the stone. The reverse side is rough. The letters are raised and clear, and vary in size from 1½″ to 2″. The *characters* are Bengali. Especially noteworthy are *i*, *c*, *j*, *r*, *s* and *h* which changed from Proto-Bengali to Bengali after the Muslim conquest. Thus, the *5*-shaped *i* of the Bodh Gayā inscription of Aśokacalla of L. S. 51 (Cunningham, *Mahā-Bodhi*, Pl. xxviii ; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, pp. 27 ff. and plates) gains two slanting strokes at the top and the bottom (cf. *iti*, l. 10), the lower curve of *j* is extended to the left, and its angular adjunct to the right is lengthened too (cf.—*vāja* l. 7), the arrow shaped *r* yields to a triangle with a dot inside (cf. *farāsa*, l. 9), *ś* acquires its double loops (cf.—*daśa*, l. 4), and *h* its present from (cf. *mahā*, l. 5). *C* retains its cursive form, *m* is either looped or non-looped (cf. *man*, l. 5, and *samaye*, l. 6), sub-script *r* is marked by a wedge at the bottom, and *visarga* by a triangle with a hook at the top (cf. *nṛpateḥ*, l. 6). To the student of Paleography the inscription is, therefore, of importance as supplying an epigraphic landmark for the fully developed Bengali alphabet. The *language* is Sanskrit. The *orthography* calls for no special remark, except that consonants following a superscript *r* are doubled. The final *t* between *Śrī-ma* and *farāsa* (l. 9) was first omitted through oversight, but subsequently inserted below *fa*.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year fourteen hundred and fifty-five, and refers itself to the reign of Mahāmuda Sāha (Mahmud Shah). It records the construction of a bridge in the spring time of that year by a minister of the king (*mahāpātrādhipātra*) Pharāsa Khāna (Faras Khan), son of Nṛravāja Khāna (Nurbaj Khan).

The date of the inscriprion, Śaka 1455 corresponds to A.D. 1533 and A.H. 940, the year following that of the accession of Ghiyasu-d-din Mahmud Shah to the throne of the kingdom of Gaur. His coins show that he had enjoyed a partial sovereignty from A.H. 933 to A.H. 939, when he succeeded in seizing the entire kingdom by murdering his nephew Ala-ud-din Firoz Shah (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. II, p. 179). Mahmud was one of the eighteen sons of Husen Shah, and also the last of the independent Sultans of Bengal. The present record is also worthy of note as a Sanskrit epigraph of a Muhammadan minister of a Muhammadan king. It is the earliest known inscription of Mahmud's reign, and is perhaps the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Bengal of the Muhammadan period. Two more inscriptions of the same reign are known, but they are in Arabic. Both of them are of the Malda district; one records the construction of a mosque in A.H. 941 (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiv, pt. I, p. 226), and the other, that of a gateway in A.H. 943 (*Ibid.*, p. 214).

Text

Śrīr-astu.
Śāke pañca-pañcā-
śad-adhikacaturdda-
śa-śat=āṅkite madhau
śrī-śrīman-Mahāmudasā-
ha-nṛpateḥ samaye Nṛ-
ravāja-khāna-putra-ma-
hāpātrādhipātra-śrīma-
t-Pharāsa-khānena śaṃkra-
moyaṃ vinirmmita iti.

Translation

"May you be prosperous !"

"This bridge was caused to be built by the illustrious Pharāsa-Khāna, minister of ministers, son of Nṛravāja-khāna, in the time of the doubly auspicious Mahāmuda Sāha, in the spring, marked by Śaka (year) fourteen hundred increased by fifty-five."

NIRADBANDHU SANYAL

Cultivation in Ancient India

II

IV *Preparation and Application of Manure*

Parāśara on Manure.

माघे गोमयकूटन्तु ... ... ।
सारं शुभदिनं प्राप्य कुद्दालैस्तोलयेत् ततः ॥
रौद्रे संशोष्य तत् सर्व्वं कृत्वा गुण्डकरूपिणम् ।
फाल्गुने प्रतिकेदारे गर्त्तं कृत्वा निधापयेत् ॥
ततो वपनकाले तु कुर्य्यात् सारविमोचनम् ।
विना सारेण यद्धान्यं वर्द्धते न फलत्यपि ॥[1]

"In the month of *Māgha*, a dung-heap is raised by a spade, dried in the sun and made into smaller balls. In the month of *Phālguna*, these are placed into holes dug for the purpose, and afterwards scattered on the field at the time of sowing. The paddy-plant only grows without manure, it does not bear fruit." 107, 108, 109.

The value of manure in cultivation was appreciated in India as early as the time of the Ṛg-veda.[2] Pārāśara also wants to point out the importance of manure by the sentence :

"विना सारेण यद्धान्यं वर्द्धते न फलत्यपि ।"

The ancient Indians did not apparently know the use of chemicals as artificial fertilisers ; they have come into use only about hundred years ago. Besides bones, flesh of animals, fish-washings, vegetable and animal products etc., the manure that they primarily used consisted of the excreta of various animals mixed with litter which absorbed the urine and kept the animals clean. Whether they knew the exact chemical composition of the yard-manure is not known, but they certainly appreciated its fertilising property and also its physical effects upon the texture and water-holding power of the soil. It is only a modern discovery that the farm-yard-manure contains all that is necessary for the nutrition of plants, viz., nitrogen, phosphoric acid and potash. Nitrogen compounds are the chief fertilising elements in the manure, but the nitrogen is inevitably lost to a certain extent. The loss can be minimised only if the dung-heap is not disturbed ; for any disturbance causes rapid fermentation of the liquid portion of the manure, viz., urine, with a consequent increase in the evaporation of ammonia. The direction of Parāśara to keep the dung-heap undisturbed up to the month of *Māgha*, i.e., for ten months of the year is thus significant. Again, the sentence,—"रौद्रे संशोष्य तत् उर्व्वं कृत्वा गुण्डकरूपिणम्" is also significant, for if any easily fermentable material still remained in the active form, it should be got rid of by drying. This process also reduces ammonia which would otherwise be injurious to the seeds and the tender roots of plants. The direction "गर्त्तं कृत्वा निधापयेत्" is also very important inasmuch as the manure, as it decomposes under the earth, increases the stock of humus which oxidises and tends to decrease in the open air, so that when the manure is scattered over the field, it is comparatively rich in humus that contributes greatly to the fertility of the soil. Knowledge of manuring at the time was probably a result of extensive practical and not scientific observations.

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[1] *Kṛṣi-saṃgraha*, p. 24.

[2] *Vide Ante.*

The Bṛhat Saṃhitā, the Agnipurāṇa & the Arthaśāstra etc. on manure.

There are also many other writers who speak of manure. Varāhamihira in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā[1] says, "To promote inflorescence and fructification, a mixture of one *āḍhaka* (64 palas) of sesame, 2 *āḍhakas* of excreta of goats or sheep, one *prastha* (16 palas) of barely powder, one *tulā* of beef thrown into one *droṇa* (256 palas) of water and standing over for seven nights should be poured round the roots of the plant" (17, 18). He further prescribes that the seeds before sowing should be treated as follows :—They should be taken up in the palm greased with ghee and thrown into milk ; on the following day the seeds should be taken out of the milk with greased fingers and the mass separated into single seeds. This process is to be repeated for 10 successive days. Then, the seeds are to be carefully rubbed with cow-dung and steamed in a vessel containing pork or venison. Then the seeds are to be sown with the above mentioned flesh and lard in a soil where previously sesame was sown and dug up, or trodden down and then sprinkled daily with water mixed with *Kṣīra*. (19, 20)

"To ensure the growth of *Ballarīs* (i.e., sprouting and the growth of luxurious stem and foliage), the seeds should be properly soaked in an infusion of powdered paddy, *māṣa* (bean), sesame and barley mixed with decomposing flesh and then steamed with *Haridrā* (turmeric). This process will succeed even with *Tintiḍī* (tamarindus indica). For the *Kapittha* (Feronia elephantum) the seeds should be soaked for about 2 minutes (literally, such length of time as it would take one to make a hundred rhythmic claps with the palms (तालशब्दः) in a decoction of 8 roots,—*Āsphoṭa* (Jasmine), *Āmalakī* (Phyllanthus embellicus), *Dhava* (Grislea tomentosa), *Vāsika* (Tustica guarderussa), *Vetula* (calamus rotung), *Sūryavallī* (Gynandropsis pentaphyla), *Śyāma* (Echites fructescens) and *Atimuktaka* (Aganosma caryophyllata) boiled in milk. The seeds then should be dried in the sun. This process should be repeated for 30 days. A circular hole should be dug in the ground, a cubit in diameter and 2 cubits deep, and this should be filled with the milky decoction. When the hole dries up, it should be burnt with fire and then pasted over with ashes mixed with ghee and honey. Three inches of soil should now be thrown in, then the powder of bean, sesame and barley, and then again three inches of soil. Finally washings of fish should be sprinkled and the mud should be beaten and reduced to a thick consistency; then the seeds previously prepared should be placed in the hole under three inches of the soil and fish washings (with fish). This will lead to luxuriant ramification and foliage which will excite wonder."[1] (21-26).

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[1] *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* edited by Dr. Kern, chapter 55, p. 304.

The Agnipurāṇa[2] gives the following directions:

"A tree becomes laden with flowers and fruits by manuring the soil with powdered barley, sesamum and the offal matter of a goat mixed together and soaked in washings of beef for seven consecutive nights. A good growth of trees is secured by sprinkling them with the washings of fish". While Khaṇā advises the cultivators thus:

"O worthy cultivator, for a vigorous growth of bamboo, give an infusion of powdered paddy to its roots, for the growth of Arum, ash, and for that of cocoanuts, salt.

In the Arthaśāstra it is stated that:

"The seeds of grains are to be exposed to mist and heat (*tuṣāra-*

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[1] Translation of these verses from the Bṛhatsaṃhitā are taken from Dr. Seal's Positive Sciences of the Hindus.

[2] Translation by M. N. Dutt, vol. II, p. 1038.

pāyanam uṣṇaṃ ca) for seven nights ; the seeds of *Kośī* such as *Mudga*, *māṣa* etc. are treated similarly for 3 nights ; the shoots of sugar-cane and the like (*kāṇḍabīja*) are plastered at the cut with the mitxure of honey, clarified butter, the fat of hogs and cow-dung, the bulbous roots (*kāṇḍa*) with honey and clarified butter, cotton-seeds with cow-dung ; and water pits at the root of trees are to be burnt and manured with bones and cow-dung at proper sea sons. The sprouts of seeds when grown are to be manured with a fresh haul of very small fish and irrigated with the milk of *snuhi* (Euphorbia antiquorum)".[1]

V Collection and Treatment of seeds

About the collection and treatment of seeds. Parāśara says,—

"All kinds of seed should be collected in the month of *Māgha* or *Phālguna.* They are then to be well dried in the sun and exposed to dew at night". "The *Puṭikās* (small receptacles) are afterwards made and the seeds kept in them". "Different kinds of seed must be kept separate, for mixed seeds are not good". "After the seeds have been placed, in the *Puṭikā* must be well closed ; grass that may grow out of it must be up-rooted or when the seeds sprout, the field will be full of grass".[2]

VI Construction of Agricultural Implements

The Plough.

Parāśara describes the plough and its accessories thus :

"The plough consists essentially of the following 8 parts : *Īśa* (the pole of the plough), *Yuga* (the yoke), *Niryola* (the rod of the plough exclusive of the pole and the share), *Niryolapāśikā* (iron plates that fix the share to the *Niryola*). (There are two pairs of *Paśikā*), *Halasthāṇu* (a strong piece of wood that is fixed to the *Niryola* at the end opposite to which the plough-share is fixed ; this is held by the cultivator while ploughing the field), *Aḍḍacalla* (the pins of the yoke where the bullocks are tied), *Śaula* (an extra piece of wood that tightly fixes the *Niryola* to the pole) and *Paccanī* (goad)".

"*Īśa* is 5 cubits long, *sthāṇū* 2½ cubits, *niryola* 1½ cubits, *yuga* कर्षसमानकः (?), *niryola-pāśikā* and *aḍḍacalla* द्वादशाङ्गुलमानौ (i.e., about 9 inches, taking the breadth of a finger to be approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ inch) and *śaula* an अरत्नि (nearly a cubit). *Pacanī* is made of bamboo with iron-top and (सार्धद्वादशमुष्टिर्व्वा नवमुष्टिका) about 3 or 4½ feet long, (taking the transverse length of a fist (मुष्टि) to be approximately 4 inches)."

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[1] Shyāmā Śāstrī's translation. 2nd ed., p. 141.

[2] *Kṛṣi Saṃgrahaḥ*, 148-151.

"*Ābandha* (a rod of iron which prevents the *niryola* from getting out of the pole) must be cyclindrical and (पञ्चदशाङ्गुल) about one foot long. *Yoktra* (the tie of the yoke) 4 cubits in length, a rope 5 cubits long and *Phāla* (ploughshare) 1 cubit or (पञ्चाङ्गुलाधिको हस्तो) 1 cubit and 4 inches, *Pāśikā* is नवाङ्गुला (nearly 7 inches) and looks like a leaf of *Arka* (calotropis gigantea). *Viddhaka* (a big hoeing instrument) has twenty-one spikes and the harrow is 9 cubits long."[1]

Besides the plough and its accessories as enumerated by Parāśara, there were also the following agricultural implements :

Sṛṇi (sickle), *Khanitra* (hoe), *Mūsala* (pestle), *Ūdūkhala* (mortar), *Sūrpa* (winnowing basket), *Dhānyakṛt* (winnowing fan), *Calanī* (sieve), *Sthivi* (granary), *Methi* (the post of the threshing floor round which cattle turn to thresh out the grains), etc.

VII *Ploughing the Land*

Injunctions and Prohibitions.

"In order that the crops may have a luxuriant growth", Khaṇā says, "the cultivator should plough the land under the auspices of the asterisms known as, *Svāti*, *Uttaraphalganī*, *Uttarāṣāḍhā*, *Uttarabhādrapada*, *Mṛgaśirā*, *Mūlā*, *Punarvasu*, *Puṣyā*, *Śravaṇā* or *Hastā* and on Fridays, Mondays and Wednesdays." "It is unwise to begin ploughing on the day of the full moon or the new moon". "The land should be ploughed 16 times for radish, half the number of times for cotton, half of that for paddy and none for betel." "The soil for radish must be as soft as cotton and for sugarcane, the soil must be ploughed to dust."

VIII *Sowing, Planting, Treatment of Plants, etc.*

General.

"*Āman* paddy, jute, ginger, arum, turmeric, mango, pumpkin, gourd, cucumber etc. are to be sown in the month of *Vaiśākha* ; and sugarcane, plantain and betel are also to be planted in this month if they have not been planted in *Caitra*." "The field is manured generally towards the end of *Jyaiṣṭha*. In this month *Jyaiṣṭhik* paddy ripens." "The month of *Āṣāḍha* is the best for planting autumn paddy (i.e., for transplanting the *āman* paddy that is sown in *Vaiśākha*), and also for planting mango, lichis, cocoanut, flower plants, betel etc. In this month, *Āus* paddy begins to ripen." "Pepper, tobacco, kalai and kaluttha (dolichos biflorus) are to be sown in *Śrāvaṇa.* Old trees will surely bear fruits if the soil at their roots is turned up in this month and fresh soil dumped there in the month of *Agrahāyaṇa.*" "Turnip, sesamum, mudga (mungo) and pepper are to be sown towards the end of *Bhādra.* In this month, *Āus* paddy fully ripens ; and hoeing is done and water drained off from the field (in which *āman* paddy had been sown) leaving just enough for only the roots to be under water.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, verses 110-117 and 96, 97.

"In the month of *Āśvina*, the ground must be prepared for the winter crops. *Godhūma* (wheat), mustard, *kalai*, cabbage, potato, radish, beet etc. are to be sown in this month and arrangements made to preserve water in paddy-fields." "Barley, peas, coriander, water-melon, cucumber and gourd are to be sown in the month of *Kārtika.*" "In *Āgrahāyaṇa*, *āman* paddy ripens and pumpkin is sown." "In *Phālguna*, winter crops ripen, and if it rains sufficiently, *Āus* paddy is sown."

Now-a-days, *Āus* is mostly sown in the month of *Vaiśākha.* In *Phālguna*, *Jyaiṣṭhik* paddy is sown. There is usually a scarcity of rain in the months of *Phālguna* and *Caitra*. That is why *Jyaiṣṭhik* paddy requires a marshy land for its growth.

Rotation of crops.

Rotation of crops was known early in India. *Āus* paddy and winter crops are thus sown in the same field by rotation--the former in spring and the latter in Autumn.

"Khaṇā says, "my worthy cultivator, plant radish towards the end of the 3rd season of the year, sow mustard towards the end of Autumn. And if you mind to make money, sow maze in the following month of *Caitra.*"

In the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (Eng. trans. 2nd ed., pp. 139 f.) the directions are given about sowing.

The Arthaśāstra.

"*Śāli* (a kind of (rice), *vrīhi* (rice), *kodrava* (paspalum scorbiculatum), *tila* (sesamum), *priyaṅgu* (panic seeds), *dāraka* (?) and *varaka* (phaseolus tribolus) are to be sown at the commencement (pūrvavāpa) of the rainy season. *Mudga* (phaseolus mungo), *māṣa* (ph. radiatus) and *śaibya* (?) are to be sown in the middle of the season. *Kusumbha* (safflower), *masura* (Ervum hirsutum), *kulattha* (dolichos biflorus) *yava* (barley), *godhūma* (wheat) *kalāya* (leguminous seeds), *atasī* (linseed) and *sarṣapa* (mustard) are to be sown last".

The following directions are given in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (chap. 55) and the Agni-purāṇa about the planting of trees :

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā and the Agni-purāṇa.

Bṛhatsaṃhita : "It is best to plant trees at intervals of 20 cubits, next at 16, and 12 cubits interval is the minimum that can be prescribed". 12.

Agni-purāṇa : "Trees planted in rows twenty cubits apart should be deemed as the best planted, while those having an intervening space of 16 or 10 cubits between them should be deemed as ranking second best in respect of fruitfulness. Trees should be transplanted 12 times, they should not be planted too close or adjoining each other, in which case, the branches that touch one another should be lopped off with a chopper, as otherwise, they would bear no fruit. Should barrenness be apprehended, the leaves and branches of a tree ought be sprinkled over with a solution of cold water saturated with *Viḍaṅga*, clarified butter, pulverised *Mudga*, *Māṣa* and *Kaluttha* pulse. Similarly, a tree sprinkled with cold water and clarified butter becomes laden with abundant fruits and blossoms.

Cutting and Grafting.

The method of propagation by cuttings and graftings was also known to India from very early times. The following lines from the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (chapter 55) will be illustrative : "*Kāṇṭhāl* (Jack-fruit tree), *Aśoka*, *Kadalī* (plantain), *Jambu*, *Lakuca*, *Dāḍimba*, *Drākṣā*, *Pālibata*, *Bījapūra* (Mātulaṅga) *Atimukta ka*—these are the plants to be propagated by means of cuttings besmeared with cow-dung" (4-5). "Better than this method is the method of propagation by graftings. This can be done in two ways,—the cuttings of one plant is either inserted in the root of another plant or on the stem of another plant (मूलोच्छेदेऽथवा स्कन्धे रोपणीयाः परं ततः). Grafts should be smeared with cow-dung. For transplanting (अन्यदेशे नीत्वा रोपयेदित्यर्थः) the plants should be smeared from root to the top (आमूलस्कन्धलिप्तानां) with ghee (clarified butter), sesame oil, honey of the *kṣudra* variety of bees of the *Uśīra* (Andropogon Laniger or Andropogon Chitrarum), the *Viḍaṅga* (Embelica ribes) milk and cow-dung". (6-7) "The most suitable ground for planting is soft soil that has been sown with sesamum indicum and dug up and trodden with sesame in flower".

Parāśara on Sowing.

Directions for sowing paddy are elaborately given by Parāśara in his Kṛṣi-saṃgraha thus :—

"Sowing in the month of *Vaiśākha* is best, in the month of *Jyaiṣṭha* is tolerable, *Āṣāḍha* bad and *Śrāvaṇa* worst. Transplanting should best be done in *Āṣāḍha*. It is bad to do it in *Śrāvaṇa* and worst in *Bhādra*.

"After the seeds have been sown, the field is to be harrowed, otherwise the seeds are not distributed uniformly over the field." 169.

On planting the Paddy.

"The seeds are of two kinds—one for sowing and the other for planting. Only healthy seeds are used for sowing. Unhealthy seeds are for planting (i.e., the seeds are sown and when they sprout, the shoots are transplanted). Full-grown plants should not be raised; transplanting is to be done while the plants are young. If planting is done in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*, there must remain one cubit of ground between any two plants; if in *Bhādra*, ½ cubit, and if in *Āśvina*, चतुरङ्गुलम् (i.e., about 3 inches). (170, 171, 172).

On Second Ploughing.

Parāśara says, "आषाढ़े श्रावणे चैव धान्यमाकट्टयेत्". We have already said that the seeds are of two kinds. In the case of those for which transplanting is not necessary, the field is ploughed for a second time in the month of *Āṣāḍha* or *Śrāvaṇa*, after the seeds grow into plants. This destroys some of them but they subsequently turn into manure and give the rest a healthier growth. "For want of sufficient timely rains, the second ploughing may be done in the month of *Bhādra*, but in that case, the produce will only be half. If the second ploughing is not done before *Āśvina*, the prospect of harvest is little." (174). "Planting or the second ploughing should not be done in marshy land neither should manure be given; only the grass is to be cleared out." (175).

Hoeing.

"If after planting, the field is not hoed, the crops cannot grow in abundance, nor yield a good harvest. If hoeing is done in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* or *Bhādra*, the harvest is doubled thereby, even if grass may again grow. If another hoeing is done in the month of *Āśvina*, corns grow as plentifully as *Māṣa*." (176-178).

Drainage and provision for water.

"So that the paddy may not get diseased (नैकजा), the water in the field is to be drained off in the month of *Bhādra*, leaving just enough for only the roots to be under water." (180).

"The fool who does not make arrangements in *Āśvina* and *Kārtika* to preserve water should not expect a harvest." (183).

IX *Reaping and Storing*

Harvesting.

"In the month of *Pauṣa* (after the *Puṣya-yātrā*), the wise cultivator reaps the full harvest and after threshing the corns, measure the grains with *Āḍhaka*.[1] The measured grains are then stored and are never spent in *Pauṣa* even erroneously." (217,218).

Khanā says: "The corns ripen 30 days after the appearance of flowers and 13 days after the ears bend low." "The corns ripen in the month of *Agrahāyaṇa*. They should be reaped in *Pauṣa*, threshed in *Māgha* and husked in *Phālguna*."

Conclusion

Thus beginning at the time of the Ṛg-veda, the science and method of cultivation steadily developed and attained a high stage of perfection by the 4th century B.C. In the Vedic age, agriculture was the general occupation; each family possessed a number of corn fields in well-marked holdings measured off according to the standard of measurement prevailing in those days. The occupation was then considered noble and each respectable householder was eager to possess a number of cattle and fertile corn-fields. By the time of the Yajurveda, caste-system became fully established and agriculture became the occupation of *Vaiśyas*. In the age of the Brāhmaṇas we find that industrial workers were gradually sinking in estimation, yet agriculture being the staple industry of the country went on developing in the Sūtra and the Epic periods. After the disruption of the Maurya empire, the political history of India became full of vicissitudes and under inimical political circumstances, agriculture instead of being a concern of the state and a matter of expert knowledge, was relegated to the lowest strata of population. The wisdom that grew in the course of ages remained buried in literature not easily accessible to the mass. Thus neglected and uncared for, the art of cultivation gradually decayed in India.[2]

R. GANGULI

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[1] Here *Āḍhaka* is a unit of measure for grains. It is a vessel having a volume of 216 cubic inches.

[2] I am thankful to Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University for many suggestions.

Śīlaparikathā

This short treatise by Vasubandhu is found twice in the Tanjur, once in the *gi* section and a second time in the *ṅe* section of the *mdo* portion of that collection. It treats of the greater efficacy of *śīla* than that of *dāna*.

That it was regarded as an important work, though short, is evident from the presence of a fairly elaborate commentary on it occurring in the same collection. This commentary is by Prakāśakīrtti.

Śīla may be explained as moral vows or observances. The *śīlas*, ten (or sometimes five) in number, had to be observed by all desiring emancipation. The whole of Buddhist eithics is based on these observances.[1]

It is not possible to ascertain who this Vasubandhu was. If he is the famous Vasubandhu, the Buddhist philosopher, his date will be *circa* 410-490 A.D. He was the brother of Asaṅga, the famous teacher of the Yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna. Vasubandhu was the author of a large number of valuable works, some of which are available in Sanskrit and the rest in Chinese and Tibetan translations. The present work is one whose original has so far not yet been traced. There is nothing in this work which can either prove or disprove this identification of the author of this short treatise with the famous Buddhist philospher of the same name.

As has been mentioned, this work occurs in two sections of the *mdo* i.e., *sūtra* portion of the Tanjur (see Cordier's *Catalogue du Fonds tibétain*, vol. III, pp. 423 and 436). In editing the text both these readings have been compared. The xylograph used is of the Visvabharati Library. We have not tried to give verse-restoration of the Sanskrit original but have given only a prose reconstruction with an English translation.

From the text it would appear that two different metres were used in the original—each had four lines but one had seven syllables and the other nine in each line.

The work contains only eleven verses and the Tibetan translation is fairly clear except in one or two places. In editing and translating it, the commentary mentioned before has been utilised. In some cases the commentary (Com.) gives a different reading; these readings are noted in the footnotes. Nothing is known about Prakāśakīrtti, the author of this commentary.

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[1] For details see *Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., pp. 6-58.

TIBETAN TEXT

rgya gar skad du | śī la pa ri ka thā |
bod du | tshul khrims kyi gtam |
dkon mchog gsum ia phyag ḥtshal lo ||

1

rgya mtsho daṅ ni glaṅ rjes kyi |
khyad par dag ni gan yin pa |
sbyin pa daṅ tshul khrims kyi |
khyad par dag ni de yin no ||

2

gaṅ zig dog paḥī sems kyis ni |
lo brgya[1] sbyin pa byin pa pas |
gaṅ zig ñin cig[2] tshul khrims ni
bsurñ ba de las khyad par hphage ||

3

sbyin pa śan pa runams daṅ ni |
rigs ṅan dag[3] kyaṅ sbyin[4] par byed |
gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ bas tshul khrims ni |
yoṅs su bsruṅ bar mi nus so ||

4

sbyin par[5] rab tu ḥbyor gyur kyaṅ |
de ni sbyin bdag chen po min |
tshul khrims rnzm par dag pa yis |
sbyin bdag chen po yin par bśad ||

5

mgo bo[6] bregs paḥam gtsug phud ldan pa[7] rgyu |
khrus kyi[8] chu yis ral pa khyab par ḥchaṅ |

---

[1] Com. *brgyar.*

[2] Com. *gcig*

[3] Com. *rnams*

[4] Com. *ster bar.*

[5] Com. *pa.*

[6] Original omits this *bo*

[7] Com. *par*

[8] Com. *tshnl khrims*

cha lugs sna tshogs dag gis spyod gyur kyaṅ |
gal te tshul khrims med na sgyu spyod yin[1] ||

6

gaṅgā bgrod paḥam[2] chu bo na der soṅ baḥam |
dbyaṅs can chu ḥam rdziṅ bur soṅ ba ḥam |
ne le śar[3] ni brten[4] par byed pa yaṅ |
gal te tshul khrims kyis rgud la don med ||

7

ji ltar tshul khrims bla med ldan paḥi dri |
dam pa mtho ris ḥdi na mi zad ldan |
de ltar phreṅ baḥi dri ni khyab min ciṅ |
de bzin byug paḥi dri yaṅ ḥbyuṅ[5] mi ḥyur ||

8

ḥdi ni bdag ḥgaḥ gzan du ḥgro ba bde |
grags daṅ dgaḥ ziṅ[6] kun gyis bkur pa ste ||
chos ldan ḥbras bu de de maṅ po mthoṇ |
tshul khrims ḥbras bu draṅ sroṅ chen pos gsuṅs ||

9

tshul khrims nad pa sman paḥi mchog yin ziṅ |[7]
mun paḥi sgron me ñam thag la skyabs daṅ |
ḥjigs pa bsruṅ daṅ phoṅs la ñe du daṅ |
ḥchi baḥi rgya mtsho mthaḥ med gdziṅs gyur yin ||

10

gaṅ zig ḥdul baḥi tshul khrims rnams ḥjig tshe |
skrag zugs tshul khrims ldan pa yod ma yin |
de bas ḥjig rten gzan mthaḥ rgal sems kyis |
gaṅ zig[8] ḥgro ḥdod des ni tshul khrims bsruṅs ||[9]

11

tshul khrims dri med ma lus ji bzin bzag |[10]
śes rab zi bas yid ni yoṅs smin ḥgyur |

---

[1] Com. *gal te tshul khrims med na gyo sgyus spyod*

[2] Com. *pa*

[3] Com. *na le sa*

[4] Com. *ston*

[5] Com. *khyab*

[6] Com. *ñid*

[7] Original has *tshul khrims mchog la*

[8] Com. *zag*

[9] Com. *sruṅs*

[10] Com. *du*

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de bas rga śi[1] nad ḥjigs rnam thar pa ׀
gaṅ zig thob ḥdod des ni[2] tshul khrims sruṅs ‖

SANSKRIT RECONSTRUCTION

॥ नमो रत्नत्रयाय ॥

1

सागरगोष्पदयोर्मध्ये यदन्तरं तदेव दानशीलयोरन्तरम् ॥

2

शुद्धचित्तेन यो वत्सरशतं दानं ददाति तस्माद् यो दिनमपि शीलं रक्षति स प्रतिविशिष्यते ॥

3

शौनिकाः दुष्कुलीनाश्च दातारो दानं ददति न पुनः कश्चिद् विधिना शीलं परिरक्षितुं शक्नोति ॥

4

दानेन समृद्धोऽपि दानपतिर्न भवति विशुद्धेन शीलेनैव दातपतिर्भवतीत्युच्यते ॥

5

शिरोमुण्डनेन वा शिखाधारणेन वा स्नानजलेन वा व्याप्तजटाधारणेन वा विचित्रवेशचर्यया वापि वञ्चको भवेद् यदि शीलं न स्यात् ॥

6

गङ्गां गतो वा नदीमुपसंक्रान्तो वा सरस्वत्या जलं वापीं वा गतो—व्यर्थो भवेद् यदि शास्ता शीलविपन्नः स्यात् ॥

7

यथानुत्तरशीलगन्धः परमस्वर्गेऽप्यक्षयस्तथा माल्यगन्धो न स्फुरति एवमनुलेपनगन्धोऽपि न स्फुरति ॥

8

इह कस्यचिदात्मनोऽन्यत्र गतौ सुखम्। सर्वे यशः प्रीतिश्च सेवन्ते। धार्मिकस्य तत्तत् फलं बहु दृश्यते। शीलफलं तु महामुनिना कथितम् ॥

9

शीलं रोगिणः परमो वैद्यः, तमसि दीपः, आर्त्तस्य शरणम्, भये रक्षणं, विपदि बन्धुः, अनन्तमृत्युसागरे च नौः ॥

10

कश्चिद् विनयशीलभङ्गे भयाविष्टो न शीलवान् भवति। कश्चित्तु तेन लोकापरान्तोत्तरणचित्तेन लाभेच्छया शीलं रक्षनि ॥

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[1] Original has *de bas na śi* and Com. has *de bas rga ḥchi.*

[2] Com. *la.*

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11

अशेषनिर्मलशीलेन यथावदवस्थितप्रशमशमथाभ्यां च मनः परिपच्यते । अत एव जरामरणव्याधिभयेभ्यो विमोक्षं प्राप्तुमिच्छति स शीलं रक्षति ॥

॥ आचार्यवसुबन्धुकृता शीलपरिकथा सम्पूर्णा ॥

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Salutation to the Three Precious Gems

1

There is as much difference between gifts and moral observances (*śīla*) as there is between the sea and the foot-prints of a cow.

2

He who observes the moral observances even for a day is superior to one, who with a pure heart, bestows gifts for a hundred years.

3

Even the butchers and the low-born people, can become donors by making gifts ; but one is not able to observe *śīla* properly.

4

Giving rich gifts one does not beeome a great giver, but by pure moral observances does one beeome a great donor.

5

Even after shaving the head, or keeping a crest on the crown (*śikhā*), or possessing big clotted hair washed with water of ablution, or using various dresses a man is a cheat if he is devoid of *śīla*.

6

Whether going to the Ganges or to a river, or to the waters of the river Sarasvatī or of a well, or teaching Neleśa (?)—all these become fruitless if a man be devoid of *śīla*.

7

The supreme fragrance of *śīla* is imperishable even in the uppermost heaven. Even the garlands do not spread such fragrance nor even the pomades.

8

Here there are some persons who desire happiness in the other world. Every one worships happiness and fame. These results in the case of religious men are seen very often. The results of *śīla* have, however, been spoken of by the great sage.

9

Śīla is like the best doctor in diseases. It is like the lamp in darkness, the refuge of the distressed, the protection in (times of) fear, like a friend in danger and a boat in this endless ocean of death.

10

There are some persons, who being afraid of the breach of *vinaya-śīla* do not observe them. There are some others who, desiring in their minds to go to the other end of this world, observe it.

11

With entirely pure *śīla* and well-kept wisdom and peace the mind becomes mature. So he, who wants liberation from the dread of old age, death, and diseases, should observe *śīla*.

NOTES

1. I have used गोष्पद for *glaṅ rjes* which literally means imprint of bull.

3. In the second line of this stanza the commentary of Prakāśa-kīrtti uses the word *ster* for *sbyin*; but that does not alter the meaning as both the words mean the same thing.

5. This is the first verse with nine syllables in each line and the rest are like this. The second line in the Com. begins as *tshul khrims chu yis*, which means "water of *śīla*." This is not clear and *khrus kyi chu yis* is a better reading. The last line of this verse in the Commentary reads as *gal te tshul khrims med na gyo sgyus spyod*. The words *gyo sgyus* means the same as simply *sgyu*.

6. In the third line occurs the word *ne le śar* in the original and *nal e śa* in the Com. What it means I have not been able to ascertain; *brten* means to adhere or to hold but the Com. has *ston* for it; *ston* means to show or to teach. So according to the Com. *na le śa* indicates some subject, whereas in the original *ne le śar* may be a place and any such thing.

9. In the first line of this verse we have accepted the reading of the Com. The original reads as follows: *tshul khrims mchog la sman paḥi mchog yin ziṅ* which means that 'with best *śīla* the best results accrue.' But in consideration of what follows the reading of the Com. seems better.

ANATHNATH BASU

Inscriptions of Govindacandra Haricandan in the Fort of Lāṅgalaveṇī

Govinda Haricandan Jagdev was the 21st king of the Boghale dynasty of the Atagada rulers. He ruled his kingdom from Ś. 1683 to 1710 (1716-1788 A.D.). His father Jagannāth or Jagabandhu Haricandan acted as the Viceroy of the Musalman Nawab in the District of Ganjam. Jagabandhu had two sons. The elder Madhusūdan succeeded his father and ruled from 1758 to 1761 A.D. As he died without any son, his younger brother Govindacandra ascended the throne of Atagada. Govindacandra was an able ruler. He made his subjects happy by his good and wise administration and kept his estate unmolested by foreign enemies. It is this king, about whom these inscriptions speak in glowing terms. On the lotus seat of the deity Gopālasvāmī at Lāṇgalaveṇī fort, the following inscription is found. It is in one śloka written in Oriya characters and Sanskrit language, and reads thus :—

गोविन्दनामा हरिचन्दनश्च यातो जगद्देव धराधिनाथः ।
नेत्राङ्कषट्चन्द्रमिते शकाब्दे भक्त्या निजेशां प्रकटीचकार ॥

[Netra 2 Aṅka 9 ṣaṭ 6 Candra 1. As Aṅkānāṃ vāmato gatiḥ is the rule, it must be 1692 (1770 A.D.). Rājā Govindacandra Haricandan had got the idol of the Goddess "Śrīmatī" or Rādhā prepared with great devotion and reverence.]

The inscriptions exist in the mutt of Gopālasvāmī in the fort of Lāṇgalaveṇī even now along with the deities of Gopālasvāmī and Śrīmatī. It is said that Govindacandra Haricandan installed the idol of "Śrīmatī" or Rādhā by the side of Gopālasvāmī, and prior to this, the deity Gopālasvāmī alone was worshipped at that place. As this inscription support the tradition, there is no room for doubting the establishment of goddess "Śrīmatī" or Rādhā by Rājā Govindacandra Haricandan Jagadev.

The second inscription written in Oriya characters and language is on the lotus seat of Rādhā-Govinda deity made of stone in the Jagannātha temple of Atagada. It reads thus :—

गोविन्द हरिचन्दन जगद्देव, शकाब्द १६९३

[Govinda Haricandana Jagaddeva, Śakābda 1693 (1771 A.D.)]

This shows that it was made by Govindacandra Haricandan Jagadev in the very next year after the first inscription. Hence he was the founder of the two idols Rādhā and Govinda.

The third inscription is inscribed in a circle under the lotus seat on which the deity Dola-Govinda is seated. This inscription is in one śloka written in Oriya characters but Sanskrit language.

The reading is as follows :—

चित्ते यस्य वरीवरीति जगतीभर्त्तापहर्त्तापदां
कीर्त्तिर्यस्यचरत्यनिद्रसुषमा सासेतुशीताचलम् ।
यस्यालङ्करणं द्विजैकभरणं धर्माय कर्माखिलं
तस्य श्रीवनमालिनः शिवमियं गोविन्दमूर्तिः क्रियात् ॥

[May this god Govinda bless Śrī Vanamālī Deva, in whose heart sits always Lord Jagannātha, the destroyer of all evils, whose fame has spread from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, whose sole duty is the maintenance of the Brahmins and whose work is based on religion.]

On Vasanta Pañcamī and Dolapūrṇimā (holy), the festive occasions of god Jagannātha at the foot of Lāṅgalaveṇī, the custom was and even now is that the idol of Dola-Govinda is taken out instead of that of Jagannātha. This image of Dola-Govinda is nicely executed on metal. The exact date of this inscription is not known, but from the genealogy of the ancient royal family of Atagada, it may be said that this king was known by two names, namely, Govinda and Vanamālī. So it may safely be concluded that the third inscription also belongs to the reign of Govindacandra Haricandan and that he was the founder of the image of Dola-Govinda.

As the history of Govindacandra Haricandan of those days will be interesting to the readers, it is given below :

When Govindacandra Haricandan was ruling over Atagada, Nawab Kumbhila Ānanda Rāj attacked the gates of Jagannāth Prasad of Lāṅgalaveṇī fort at Bovrani or Boirani. But the Nawab was repulsed. Thirty of the enemies' party were imprisoned and beheaded by the order of the Rājā.

In the reign of Madhusūdan Haricandan, Kṛṣṇa Bhuñja, the Rājā of Gumsoor had captured the Hattiutto mutt of Atagada. To avenge this, Govindacandra sent his large army to attack Bhuñja after the death of his brother Madhūsudan. This expedition was led by commander Śrīkaraṇ Patnaik. The Atagada army attacked the Bhuñja Fort of Kakarsali, where the Rājā was defeated and was compelled to retreat. The victorious army took possession of the Hathiutto mutt and built a new fort named Mandaragaḍ, the walls of which were made of mud (18 × 25 cubits), and made 300 soldiers guard the fort. These soldiers who guarded the newly built fort were granted lands at those places free of taxes and their descendants are enjoying the same till now. Another fortress named Balabahdra Palace was constructed at a place called Biripura. Two years later Kṛṣṇa Bhuñja concluded a treaty with the Rājā of Atagada at a village of Kanachai. The successor of Kṛṣṇa Bhuñja by name Lakṣmaṇa having been driven out from Gumsoor by his brother Trivikrama took refuge in Atagada.

Govinda Haricandan had powerful allies such as Harihara Narendra of Mohuri, Vināyaka Māndhātā of Nayagarh, Marda Gopāladeva of Khallikote and Jagaddeva of Tekkali.

Vīrakeśarideva of Orissa, having been captured and imprisoned by Rājārām Paṇḍit Subedar of the Maharattas, died and left Divyasiṃhadeva, his grandson as his only heir. At that time the Maharattas had been a source of great trouble. Divyasiṃha arrived at the village of Pamtiamba via Banapur. Having come to know the pitiable state of the Orissa king, Govinda Haricandan had a fort built at Usta Agency and kept him with his 2000 followers, 5 elephants and 50 horses as his guest for one year. During this time was born his first son Mukundadeva the great Oriya king.

Govinda got back certain conquered territories from Gajapati, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, king of Parlakimedi. He then attacked and defeated the Maharattas who attacked the Puri temple and restored Divyasiṃhadeva at his old palace of Bali. The fort of Khurda was also released from the hands of the Mahrattas.

Mr. Catsford of the East India Company came to know this fact, and besiezed Lāṅgalveṇī Fort through Jagannāth Prasad Gate in 1768. A treaty was then concluded between the Rājā of Atagada and the East India Company to the effect that the Rājā of Atagada should pay an annual revenue of Rs. 47,000 to the East India Company. Since then the independence of the Rājā of Atagada came to an end. Some time before the above incident, Colonel Peach waged war against the Rājā of Parlakimedi at Jalumur, and as the Rājā of Parlakimedi was defeated, his estate was taken by the East India Company. In the same year, Resident Catsford went with a large army and attacked and captured the fort of Ganjam.

LAKSHMI NARAYAN HARICANDAN JAGADEB

The Candra Dynasty of Arakan

We know of several Candra dynasties of Bengal, from the accounts of Tāranātha, songs of Mayanāmatī and the copper-plate grants of Śrī Candra deva, but nothing of the Candra dynasty of Arakan, except what can be made out from the few coins of Arakan described by Sir A. P. Phayre in his 'Numismata Orientalia'. Recently some interesting accounts have been published of a dynasty of Candra kings of Arakan in the Annual Report for 1925-26 of the Archaeological Survey of India (pp. 146-48). This is the result of a preliminary examination of some inscriptions on a stone-pillar found on the platform of the Sitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan by Forchhammer in the early eighties. For some reasons or other they remained so long undeciphered. Mr. Hirananda Śāstrī, the Government Epigraphist for India, who examined them, says that the oldest of the inscriptions is written in characters resembling those of the late Gupta script. The others are in Nāgarī characters. Their major portion is practically obliterated. A preliminary decipherment has been made of the best preserved portion. The following is a summary of its reading as supplied by Mr. Śāstrī :

"The first twenty lines are illegible on the impression. Ll. 21-41 give an account of the numerous kings of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa, preceding Ānandacandra, to whose rule the inscription belongs. The kings are stated in order with a period of reign assigned to each.

		Years.
1.	Bālacandra reigned for	
2.	Devacandra ..	22
3.	Yajñacandra ...	7
4.	.........son of Bhūmicandra ...	?
5.	.........son of Kīrticandra	24
6.	.........son of Nīticandra	55
7.	Dīpacandra ...	?
8.	Prīticandra ...	22
9.	.........candra ...	?

		Years.
10.	Nīticandra ...	?
11.	Mahāvīra Nareśvara	12
12.	?	12
13.	?	12
14.	Dharmaśūra ...	3
15.	?	8
16.	Śrī-Dharmavijaya	?
17.	Narendravijaya, the son of Dharmavijaya	2
18.	Narendracandra ...	8
19.	Anandacandra ...	

"Ll, 41-62 enumerate in detail the numerous benevolent deeds of Ānandacandra. He was like Karṇa in charity; like Yudhiṣṭhira in speaking truth. He resembled Kāma in beauty and in splendour was like the sun. He built many vihāras and attached to them a large extent of land, cows and buffaloes. He erected many Buddhist temples and set up in them beautiful images of copper, etc. He gave everyday linen cloths to the monks coming from different parts of the country. He also granted land with servants to fifty Brahmans. Various dwellings and roads in different parts were constructed for the use of Ārya-saṃgha.

"Ll. 63-71 probably state that a subordinate (of Ānandacandra) gave his daughter, a 'gem among women' to Ānandacandra, the king of Tāmrapaṭṭana, together with a dowry of a town called Śrī-paṭṭana after having constructed in it a tank and a vihāra.

"The inscribed stone does not itself appear to have belonged originally to the temple, where it is now serving the purpose of a gate-post at the entrance to the temple. The latter was built by Minbin, the 12th of the Myauk-u dynasty, who reigned over Arakan from 1531 to 1533 A.D., while the former is said to have been set up by Ānandacandra, a king of Tāmrapaṭṭana and a descendant, according to the chronological table given in the inscription, of Bālacandra of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa. Who this Ānandacandra was and how that Tāmrapaṭṭana is to be identified still remain to be worked out; on palæographical grounds alone, the inscription stone is older than the temple by many centuries. Moreover, the names mentioned therein are altogether new to us, and it is quite possible that we are now on the threshold of an important discovery and are about to resuscitate to life a dynasty of kings, which was in existence in the mediæval period, but which has now become extinct. However, mention may be made of some of the names, probably of kings, which are also preserved on old coins of Arakan. For this purpose reference may be made to the coins Nos. 1-12 on plate II of Phayre's Coins of Arakan. Coin No. 2 has the name Prīticandra above the bull, while coin No. 3 probably has Dharmavijaya and No. 8, Vīracandra. The name on coin No. 9 figured in plate XXXI of the Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum (Calcutta, Volume I) should certainly be read as Nīticandra, although Vincent Smith read it as Śrī Śivasya or Givasya. The cabinet of the Phayre Provincial Museum has another coin of the same name stamped on it, but it is a better specimen, and on palæographical grounds, it may be older than the coin in the Indian Museum. That is to say, we have two coins both bearing the same name Nīticandra, but belonging to two different periods. There are other coins bearing names not mentioned in the list of kings given in our inscriptions. But the above will suffice at least to allow us to conjecture that the names of kings mentioned in the inscription are no others than those of Arakan. But on the other hand, none of these names can be identified with any of those that are mentioned in the lists of the kings of Arakan as given by the native chroniclers, although there were kings in Arakan with names ending in Candra and Taing-candra. At the same time, Tāmrapaṭṭana, the name of the country, over which Ānandacandra was king is not known to chroniclers. Śrīpaṭṭana is equally unknown. Again, Ānandacandra is said to be a descendant of Bālacandra of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa. One Bālacandra, son of Siṃhacandra who reigned in Bengal, is known to have extended his power to Tirhut and Kāmarūpa at a time when Magadha was ruled by the elder son of king Harṣa. Bālacandra was succeeded by his son Vimalacandra followed by Gopīcandra. During the latter's reign the seat of Government was at Cāṭigrāma (Ciṭtagong), and the kingdom of Rakhan or Arakan was just to its south."

We shall try to give here some facts and suggestions, with the hope that they may help in editing the inscriptions.

It appears that king Ānandacandra, though a Buddhist, patronised Brāhmaṇas. We find in the Kulaji books of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal that king Vallālasena of Bengal sent Brāhmaṇas to Maurāṅga or Mauḍāṅga and to Rasāṅga or Rabhāṅga (Arakan ?) :

"Gauḍe śataṃ nṛpatinā pancāśan Magadhe tathā/
Bhōṭe ṣaṣṭiḥ samākhyātāḥ Maurāṅge ca tathāvidhāḥ//
Utkale dvāviṃśatiś ca Rasāṅge ca tathāvidhāḥ/
evaṃ sthitir Brāhmaṇānāṃ sarvadēśa-nivāsinām//"
(Vārendra-kulapañji)

Again :—"dvi-śat=ādhika-pañcāśād-Vārendrāṇāṃ dvi-janmanām/
pañcāśan Magadhe ṣaṣṭir Bhōṭe ṣaṣṭī Rabhāṅgake//
catvāriṃśad-Utkale ca Mauḍāṅge'pi tath=āṅkakaḥ/
dattā nṛpatinā harṣaṃ Vallālena mahātmanā//"
(Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa, p. 88)

Can these be the Brāhmaṇas, to whom Ānandacandra gave away lands with servants? If so he becomes a contemporary of king Vallālasena in the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

There are names of nineteen kings in the list. If the first and the last are excluded, there remains seventeen only. Of these, the periods of reign of 12 only have been deciphered. They reigned for 187 years, each about 16 years on an average. The remaining five, at this rate, might have reigned 80 years. Or assuming three generations a century, their reign comes to 166 at the highest. So Bālacandra was earlier than Ānandacandra by about 267-353 years. Assuming Ānandacandra to have ascended the throne on 1100 A.D., Bālacandra's reign must have terminated some time between 747-833 A.D. i.e. he reigned some time between the eighth and the ninth century. It is said that in the ninth century the country around Chittagong was conquered by a Buddhist king of Arakan, who erected a pillar at Chittagong (Chittagong District Gazetteer, p. 20). It may be that this pillar was subsequently removed to Mrohaung.

This dynasty of kings is said to be of the Dharmarājānujavaṃśa. Yama is Dharmarāja. Who is his anuja or younger? It may be Citragupta, the mythical forefather of the Kāyasthas, for he is said to be a twin brother of Dharma-rāja :—

> Vāyuḥ sarvagataḥ sṛṣṭaḥ Sūryas tejovivṛddhimān /
> Dharmarājas tataḥ sṛṣṭaś Citraguptena saṃyutaḥ /"
>
> (Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Vaṅgavāsī Edition, 1314 B.S., p. 676)

I may also mean his another brother Vicitra :—

> prayāti Citranagaraṃ Vicitro yatra pārthivaḥ //
> *Yamasy=aiv=ānujaḥ* saurir yatra rājyaṃ praśāsti ha/ (Ibid., p. 622).

In the Kulaji books of the Kāyasthas of Bengal, we find that Citragupta, Vicitra and Citrasena are three brothers. Of them Citragupta lived in heaven, Vicitra among the Nāgas and Citrasena on earth :

> Citragupto gataḥ svarge Vicitro nāga-sannidhau// Citrasenaḥ pṛthivyāṃ
>
> (Śabda-kalpadruma, see under 'Kāyastha').

Among the many surnames of the Bengal Kāyasthas, 'Candra' is one. So this Candra dynasty of Arakan may be of the Kāyastha caste. If Bālacandra of Bengal be identical with Bālacandra of Arakan, then the Candra dynasty of Bengal was also of the Kāyastha caste.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

The Administration of the Delhi Empire in the Pre-Mughal Period

II

Land Revenue

Land revenue formed the principal source of income to the State in the pre-Mughal period. India was then, as is still now, an agricultural country. From a perusal of the contemporary records we find that the demand of the state varied in different times. During this period, the revenue was generally assessed by "guess or computation," and it was Alauddin who first devised the scheme of *jarib* and tried to improve the system of assessment then prevalent in the country, but it appears that his system did not long survive his death. His standard of taxation was extremely exorbitant and it was "equal to half the gross annual produce of the lands, to be levied throughout the kingdom, and to be regularly transmitted to the Exchequer'' (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, pp. 346 f.). "Cultivation whether on a small or large scale was to be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every biswa" (one twentieth part of a bigha—Elliot, vol. III, p. 182), "and the headmen and Chowdhuris and all other rayyats were placed on the same footing; so that the burden of the strong was not thrown on the weak. He also ordered that what used to be the perquisites of the Chowdhuris should be collected and paid into the treasury, and that grazing fees for each head of cow and buffalo and sheep should also be realized" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, pp. 169, 170, Persian text, p. 153). "The scrutiny into the conduct of the ministerial officers and scribes was carried to such an extreme, that they were not able to misappropriate even one *jital.* If any one took anything in addition to his fixed salary, it at once appeared against him in the papers of the patwari (the village accountant) and was immediately exacted from him with the greatest rigour and contumely" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 169-170). But as has already been said, Alauddin's system of assessment did not long survive his death. On the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq to the throne, the old system of assessment by "guess or computation" was revived by that monarch. "In the generosity of his nature, he ordered that the land revenues of the country should be settled upon just principles, with reference to the produce. The officers of the Exchequer were ordered to assess either by guess or computation, whether upon the reports of informers or the statements of valuers. They were to see that cultivation increased year by year. The Hindus were to be taxed so that they might not be blinded by wealth and so become discontented and rebellious, nor, on the other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 230 f.).

"In fixing the revenue of the various territories, he acted with moderation; and did not listen to the words of those who made high offers. If any one forcibly realized from his *jagir* more than that was fixed, the Sultan objected to, and cancelled, the transaction. If any one deducted any amount from the revenue payable by him, on account of payments to his retainers, and the amount did not reach the latter, he was punished, and the amount was recovered from him" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, pp. 209, 210; Persian text p. 192). Thus from the above writings of Zia Barni and Nizamuddin Ahmed, we get a good account of the principle of taxation, and its working during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.

The demand of the State reached its climax during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, when he increased it in the Doab "out of all proportion to the income of the people"—as Zia Barni has described. The same author proceeds on to say that the tax was raised from ten or twenty times which rather seems to us to be an exaggeration. However, that the rate of taxation was extremely exorbitant and that "it operated to the ruin of the country and the decay of the people" is admitted by all historians. Ferishta, who came much later and who derived his materials mainly from the contemporary historians, says, "the duties, levied on the necessaries of life and realised with the utmost rigour, were too great for the power of industry to cope with; the country in consequence, became involved in poverty and distress" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 414). Along with his heavy taxation some *abwabs* were also levied which was an additional horror to the people (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 218; see also in this connection Zia Barni's Tarikhi-Ferozshahi).

After the death of Muhammad Tughlaq and the accession of Feroz Tughlaq to the throne, the storm passed away, and India again showed signs of prosperity and happiness; taxes were levied according to just principles and many illegal exactions (*abwabs*) were done away with. The revenue was imposed after a proper enquiry about the condition of the land and the facilities of irrigation provided by the construction of canals for improved agriculture.

Feroj, in his Fatuhati-Ferozshahi says that he abolished twenty three illegal and vexatious taxes. About the steps that Feroz took to suppress these illegal imports, the following quotation may be cited from Ferishta: "It is hereby proclaimed that the small and vexatious taxes, under the denomination of cottwaly, etc., payable to the public servants of Government as perquisites of offices by small traders, licenses from shepherds for the right of pasturage on waste lands belonging to the crown, fees from flower-sellers, fishmongers, cotton-cleaners, silk-sellers, and cooks, and the precarious and the fluctuating taxes on shop-keepers and vintners, shall henceforth cease throughout the realm; for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realize it causing so much distress occasioned by the discretionary power that has to be vested on tax-gatherers and officers of authority; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of the book" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 463).

However, much may be said in support of the benign policy of the sovereigns like Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Feroz Tughlaq in regard to revenue matters and their noble aspirations to do good to the peasantry, corruptions could not be totally stamped out of the country and old order of things revived as soon as any one of them had made their exit from the royal stage. Even during their life time oppression of the *moqaddams* on the one hand and high handedness of the fief-holders on the other, could not be checked properly, because of the fact that very few cases could reach the ears of the sovereign.

Provincial Administration

The Delhi empire in the pre-Mughal period was divided into provinces and the number of provinces sometimes increased and sometimes decreased according to the extent of the empire. In the early days of the Muhammadan rule the number of provinces was smaller than those of the reign of Alauddin Khilji or Muhammad Tughlaq when the Muhammadan empire rose to the meridian of its glory. But when the noon-tide splendour of the meridian sun had begun to wane, the number of provinces again decreased.

From the writings of Zia Barni we get references to twelve provinces of the Delhi Empire at the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq which are as follows :—(1) Delhi, (2) Gujrat, (3) Malwa, (4) Deogir, (5) Tilang, (6) Kampila, (7) Dwara Samudra, (8) Ma'bar, (9) Tirhut, (10) Lakhnauti, (11) Satgaon, (12) Sonargaon. But afterwards Muhammad Tughlaq increased the number of provinces for the better administration of the empire. Shahabuddin, the author of the Masalik-al-absar, who was a native of Damascus, and whose source of information on this subject was Sirajuddin Abul Fath Aumar, ("a lawyer and a native of the province of Oudh, who had lived long at the court of the Sultan of Delhi"), gives a list of twenty-three provinces into which the Delhi empire was then divided. These were as follows :—"(1) Delhi, (2) Deogir. (3) Multan, (4) Kahran, (Kuhram) (5) Samana, (6) Siwistan, (7) Uch, (8) Hasi, (Hansi), (9) Sirsuti, (Sirsah) (10) Maabar, (11) Tilank (Telingana), (12) Gujrat, (13) Badaon, (14) Oudh, (15) Kanauj, (16) Lakhnauti, (17) Bihar, (18) Karra, (19) Malwa, (20) Lahore, (21) Kalanor, (Gowalior), (22) Jajnagar, (23) Tilanj, Darusamand (Telingana (?) and Dwarasamudra" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 574-575). Over each of the provinces there was a Governor who was responsible for its administration and proper management. This increment of the number of provinces by Muhammad Tughlaq was, no doubt, judicious and calculated to ensure better administration in the provinces.

From the above account of Shahabuddin we hear of only one province of Bengal, namely, Lakhnauti, whereas from the account of Zia Barni we find that Bengal was divided into three provinces, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, and Sonargaon. This fact is also corroborated by Ferishta (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 423). So, on the whole, we get twenty-five provinces. The administration of the distant places like Bengal, the North-Western provinces and the Deccan was somewhat different from that of the other places. Bengal as we have just seen, was divided into three provinces with a Governor over each of them ; above these three Governors, there was one Viceroy at their head to look into the affairs of Bengal as a whole and to supervise the actions of the provincial Governors. The distant provinces of the Deccan and the Punjab were similarly administered. From the account of Shahabuddin which agrees with that of Ferishta (Brigg's Ferishta vol. I, p. 432), it is seen that the Deccan was divided into four provinces, namely, Deogir, Malabar, Telingana, and Dwara-Samudra with a Governor over each ; above these four governors there was similarly one Viceroy with his capital at Deogir as the head of all the provincial governors of the Deccan. The Punjab was similarly divided into several provinces with a governor over each, but above them a Viceroy with similar powers as stated in the case of Bengal and the Deccan. These small divisions of the three distant places ensured better government in those places, and each provincial governor served as a check upon the other and a sudden combination on their part against the Central Government was rendered difficult.

But so far as the administration of the provinces was concerned, there were some serious defects in the machinary of the government itself. Each of these provinces was, as Mr. Smith described them, "miniature replica of a State". The governors had a very slender tie of allegiance to the Central Government, and all of them were leaders of large armies, recruited and paid by them direct. They generally appointed all their subordinate officers, whose promotion and dismissal as well depended on them alone. In short, in regard to internal affairs of a province, the governor was practically his own master. Provincial revenue was under his control, forts were garrisoned by him and soldiers were under his command. If a governor was ambitious enough he could, on the slightest negligence on the part of the Central Government, cut off every connection from it. Moreover, want of good communication in the absence of steamship or telegraphs only facilitated their projects. Had there been any better means of communication, much of the trouble might have been overcome and timely information and intervention might have nipped in the bud the aggression of these provincial governors. Balban, Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad Tughlaq and Feroz Tughlaq were all, for some time or other, provincial governors and they knew fully well how in such a state of affairs, it was easy for a provincial governor to throw off the mask and aspire to the royal dignity, but still none of them made any attempt whatsoever to bring the provincial governors into a closer and more rigid control of the Central Government and thus lay the foundation of the empire on a stronger basis.

In the provincial head quarters there was a Qazi for the administration of justice to which I have already given reference.[1] There was also certainly a provincial Dewan without which the management of the revenue was not possible.

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[1] In the I.H.Q. of June, 1930, p. 270, in speaking of provincial Qazis, I told that there waş a Qazi in Bengal and another in the Deccan, but they referred to the Qazis of the Viceroy's courts. Besides the Qazis for Viceroy's courts, there were Qazis in

Army

The governmental organization was on military lines and every official had to be enrolled in the army list. In those rough and stormy days strong and well-disciplined army was of imperative necessity for the stability of every kingdom. The provincial Governors were ambitious, rebellion was rife, and the mode of communication extremely difficult, and in such a state of affairs, the only means to overawe the provincial Governors and to check their disruptive tendencies was the formation of a well-trained and well-disciplined standing army. But in those days the kings generally depended upon the provincial Governors and fief-holders for the supply of troops in times of necessity. This was an extremely cumbrous and irksome process. It revealed the weakness of the central Government in case the Governors or fief-holders could not come forward in time with their levies. Moreover, the provincial Government and fief-holders were well aware of the weakness of such a system, and they might, if they had only the inclination to do it, put the central Government in an utter helpless condition in times of crisis by wilful negligence of the royal mandate.

Even a king like Balban had to depend mainly upon this practice. He had no doubt, a well-drilled and well-organized army and he kept up the efficiency of the army by constant exercise "by leading them out twice every week to hunt for forty or fifty miles round the (capital) city" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 255), but however strong and efficient his army might be, a politician and a statesman like him should have more thoroughly realised the weakness of the above practice and should have taken steps to curb the power of the Governors and fief-holders and thereby remodel the militia on a sound basis.

It was Alauddin who first conceived the idea of organizing the Indian army on a stronger and more solid basis. He was confronted with two great difficulties—firstly, high-handedness and discontent of the great nobles which must be checked, secondly, the frequent incursions of the Mongols on the North-western Frontier which seem-

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each of the head quarters of the Governors' provinces into which those countries were divided.

ed to threaten the very existence of the Delhi Empire. Now, in order to cope with these difficulties, the most important thing that was necessary was the formation of a strong and well-disciplined standing army under the direct control of the central governments. With this purpose in view, he appointed worthy men to act as commanders and lieutenants and the army was directly recruited by the Ariz-i-Mamalik (muster-master of the kingdom). The pay of the soldiers was fixed and they were paid by the central government in cash from the royal treasury and the corruption was checked by means of the branding system. In this connection Ferishta says: "He (Alauddin) settled the pay of every horseman for himself and his horse. The first class had 234 tankas, the second class 156 and the third class 88 tankas annually, according to the goodness of the horse, and upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of 475000" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 360). The military commanders and lieutenants were also paid in cash and not by grants of lands which had hitherto been the practice under the previous Sultans. The rigidity of the discipline in the army, which he maintained, may be clearly understood from the following words of Alauddin himself—"I am in the habit of stopping one month's pay for three successive years, from every soldier who neglects to appear at muster......" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 352).

After the death of Alauddin, the efficiency of the army was greatly impaired and abuses slowly crept into the military organization. But with the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq many of the abuses were remedied. In this connection Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of the Tabaqati Akbari says: "He (Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq) adopted the methods introduced by Sultan Alauddin in respect of the descriptive rolls of the troopers, and the branding of horses and the prices and examination of the latter, and of the maintenance of the retainers" (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 210; Persian text, 193).

During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq the Delhi emperor had at one time, an enormous cavalry numbering 370,000 (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 414), but the efficiency of the army was greatly impaired due to his whims and caprices.

During the reign of Feroz Tughlaq the efficiency of the army was maintained through the efforts of Malik Razi, the Deputy-Ariz-i-mamalik. Shams-i-Afif says: "In the reign of Feroz Shah there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horses, exclusive of slaves. These men remained on service all the year........In those days Malik Razi, a very venerable and righteous man, was the Deputy-*Ariz* and administered the business of the army in a very proper manner" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 347 f.).

But however efficient Feroz's army might have been, he displayed lack of political foresight and statesmanship, as he again resorted to the old method of granting fiefs to the nobles and military commanders in lieu of cash payment. Herein Feroz laid the germs for the future dissolution of the Delhi empire by increasing the power of the nobles at the expense of the central government. After his retirement from the political arena of Hindusthan, Delhi empire showed signs of speedy decay, whereas the barons grew richer and more powerful. As the power of the central government decreased, the power of these fief-holders increased and, by and by, almost the whole of Hindusthan was divided into innumerable tribal chieftaincies. In some places the Farmuli tribe was predominant, at another place the Lohani tribe, and at others the Serwani tribe and so on. Waqiati-i-Mushtaqi has given a very graphic picture of the condition of Hindusthan during the reign of Sikandar Lodi which runs as follows :—

"One-half of the whole country was assigned in *jagir* to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghan tribes. At this time the Lohanis and Farmulis predominated. The chief of the Serwanis was Azam Humayun and the principal chieftains of the Lodis were four :—Mahmud Khan who had Kalpi in *jagir* ; Mian Alam, to whom Etawah and Chandwa were assigned ; Mubarak Khan whose *jagir* was Lucknow; and Daulat Khan who held Lahore. Among the Sahu Khails, the chiefs were Husain Khan and Khan Jahan, both from the same ancestor as Sultan Bahlol, Husain Khan, son of Feroz Khan, and Qutb Khan Lodi Sahu Khail, who flourished in the time of Sultan Bahlol.

"The districts of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Husain, Oudh, Ambala and Hodhana by Mian Muhammad Kālā Pāhār, Kanauj by Mian Gadai, Shamsabad, Thaneswar and Shahabad by Mian Imad."

"Among the great nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time was Saif Khan Acha-Khail. He had 6,000 horse under him, and was the deputy of Azam Humayun, jagirdar of Karra, who used to buy 2,000 copies of the Quran every year, had 45,000 horses under his command, and 700 elephants. There were also Daulat Khan-Khani who had 4,000 cavalry, Ali Khan Ushi who had 4,000, and also : Feroz Khan

Serwani who had 6,000. Amongst other nobles, there were 25,000 more distributed. Ahmad Khan also, the son of Jumal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, when he was appointed to Janupur, had 20,000 cavalry under him" (Elliot, vol. IV, pp. 545, 547 f.).

If we go through the above accounts carefully and at the same time remember how Sikandar had to strive hard to maintain his position, we can realise the pitiable condition of the Delhi empire. The system was unsound at the core and its fall was inevitable and it was only a question of time.

Kotwal

The function of a Kotwal in mediæval India was very important inasmuch as public peace, tranquillity and safety of the urban people mainly depended upon him. He was the chief of the city police and was entrusted with the protection of the city against all offences. During the Mughal period, we get a very good picture of the duties and functions of a Kotwal from the Aini-Akbari of Abul-Fazl as well as from Storia-de-Mogor of Manucci. But about the period of which we are speaking only some casual references to his duties may be found here and there in the pages of some of the histories of the period. Briggs in his translation of the Tarikh-i-Ferishta says, "The office of Kotwal embraces the regulation of the town police, and the public market. The Kotwal also regulates the hire of cattle, and provides carriages for the Government and for travellers" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 288 ; see also Tabaqati Akbari, p. 158, Persian text, 143).

As his position was that of the Superintendent of Police (De, Tabaqati Akbari, p. 154) there were certainly other officers below him like the Inspectors or sub-Inspectors of the present day, and we find that in the administration of the capital city, Darogha was appointed under him (Tabaqati-Akbari, Persian text, p. 139) but we do not know what were their exact functions.

Dak-Chauki

The institution of Dak-Chauki was first inaugurated during the reign of Alauddin Khilji who "whenever sent an army to any place, arranged a horse dak-chauki (relay) from Delhi to the place of destination and posted at each Karoh a fast runner, who is called Paik in Hindi ; and he appointed a scribe at each town or city, on the way, who reported every day what happened there" (De, Tabaqati-Akbari, p. 183). The above system has been more vividly described by Zia-Barni in the following language :

"It was the practice of the Sultan, when he sent an army on expedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning from Tilpat, which was the first stage. At every post relays of horses were stationed and at every half or quarter kos runners were posted and in every town or place where horses were posted, officers and report-writers were appointed. Every day, or every two or three days, news used to come to the Sultan reporting the progress of the army and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. False news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city or in the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the court on one side and the army on the other was a great public benefit" (Elliot, vol. III, p. 203).

But during the reign of his unworthy successors the services of this valuable department seemed to have been lost to the empire, and again Tughlaq Shah made endeavours to revive this old department established by Alauddin, when during his Deccan expedition he made arrangements that "messengers should come from Delhi, twice a week, by Dak-Chauki, and should bring intelligence of everything being safe." (De, Tabaqati-i-Akbari, p. 211).

The following description of the Dak-Chauki as was prevalent during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq has been given by the Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta—"The barid or post in India is of two kinds. The horse-post is called *ulak*, and is carried on by means of horses belonging to the Sultan stationed at every four miles. The foot-post is thus arranged. Each mile is divided into three equal parts, called *dawah*, which signifies one-third of a mile. Among the Indians, mile is called kos. At each third of a mile there is a village well populated ; outside of which are three tents, in which are men ready to depart. These men gird up their loins and take in their hands a whip about two-cubits long, tipped with brass bells. When the runner leaves the village, he holds the letter in one hand and in the other the whip with the bells. He runs with all his strength and when the men in the tents hear the sound of the bells they prepare to receive him. When he arrives, one of them takes the letter and sets off with all speed. He keeps on cracking his whip until he reaches the next *dawah*. Thus, these couriers proceed until ~~the~~ letter reaches its destination. This kind of post is quicker than the horse-post" (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 587 f.).

The department subsequently fell into disuse and it was revived after a long time by Sikandar Lodi who improved upon the old system and extended its operation to all parts of his kingdom as is evident from the accounts of Ferishta, who says—"He established horse-posts throughout his country and received accounts daily from every military detachment of his army in motion" (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 587). The department seemed to have been utilised both for civil and military purposes and with its help he kept himself in constant touch with all the important parts of the dominion.

Such was the administrative machinery which prevailed in the Delhi empire during the pre-Mughal period. As is apparent from the machinery of government which has been described above, there were some serious defects in the system as well as in its working which not only marred the efficiency of the government, but also exposed it to the worst kinds of casualties leading to the ultimate dismemberment of the empire. They pointed out undoubtedly that the germs of its destruction could be found in the system itself and when the final crash came, although it came from outside, it would have certainly come, even, if no Tamarlane or Babar would have invaded India. By the middle of the 14th century the Delhi empire exhibited unmistakeable signs of decay and destruction; the empire was worn out and it bore the appearance of a spent-bullet deprived of all its strength and vitality. There could not be any further doubt about its fall, and it is rather strange that the end came so late.

The first characteristic defect of the system was that it had no balanced constitution. No political machinery was ever devised to checkmate the whims and caprices of the sovereigns, and, as a matter of fact, they did whatever they liked, without any fear of opposition or hindrance from any duly organized constitutional body. The people could not device or organize any constitutional body as the people of England did to extort any charter or right of liberty and thereby put a stop to the despotic actions. The advisory council which existed, as we have already seen, was no check upon the autocratic action of the sovereign. It was the creation of the king himself and it depended wholly on his mercy for its existence. Had there been any constitutional check upon the despotic actions of the sovereign, much of the unrest and lawlessness that prevailed during the reigns of Kaikhusru, Kaiqubad, Mubarak Shah, Tughlaq Shah II etc. on account of their negligence and incompetence, might have been averted and much of the energy of the State which was thus frittered away in unnecessary commotions might have added strength and vitality to the kingdom. The loss of moral prestige which it ultimately suffered owing to the follies and unstatesmanlike actions of Muhammad Tughlaq, which hastened the downfall of the empire, could also have been averted.

The second defect was that there was no proper machinery of government for the administration of the provinces. Each province, as has already been said, was "a miniature replica of a state." With vast resources at his back, "the provincial governorship often proved a stepping-stone" to the imperial authority, as were the cases with Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin Khilji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Bahlol Lodi, but none of them made any attempt to bring the provinces into a closer connection with the central government by putting salutary checks upon their actions. Moreover, the provinces should have been further divided into smallers units, like Sarkars and Parganas, for their better administration as were done in later times.

The third characteristic defect was that there was no attempt to connect the outlying provinces of the empire with the central government by means of roads, bridges, and other facilities of communication. In those days when there was no steamship or telegraphy, the only means by which the central government might keep in touch with the different parts of the empire was by the construction of good roads connecting all the important parts of the empire. But this the pre-Mughal emperors did not do.

Fourthly, in regard to law and justice in rural areas and in smaller places, the people were left to themselves and the government was satisfied only with the collection of revenue. The maintenance of peace and security in those areas were left to the village communities and no officer seemed to have been appointed to look into their actions and thus ensure proper administration and at the same time keep itself in closer touch with the masses. This indifference of the government towards the rural areas, also engendered a corresponding indifference on the part of the people towards the government.

Fifthly, the military character of the government was maintained from the beginning to the end. There was no attempt on the part of the sovereigns to create a national Government or a homogeneous State and thereby merge the differences of the conqueror and the conquered. As a matter of fact, all the feelings of the conqueror and the conquered were allowed to remain and this "social inequality producing bitterness ended in rebellion." Even Feroz Tughlaq who has been described by the contemporary historians as "full of the milk of human kindness," and who posed himself as the champion of justice and humanity proved no exception.

Sixthly, "the Islamic State fostered luxury among the members of the ruling class. The highest offices in the State were held by Muslims and elevation to positions of honour was generally determined by Royal will and not by merit. The easy acquisition of enormous wealth and participation in the festivities of the court led to great vices, and the Muslims towards the close of the 14th century lost their old vigour and manliness. The early Muslims who served Altamash, Balban and Alauddin were soldier martyrs who cheerfully braved risks for the glory of Islam, but their descendants, who had no inducement to work, degenerated into mediocres, who had neither the ability nor the enthusiasm of their ancestors"(Mediæval India, Iswari Prosad, p. 470).

Seventhly, absence of the law of primogeniture was one of the most important causes which undermined the strength, vigour and prestige of the empire and paved the way for its ultimate extinction. In the absence of the law of primogeniture, every son, brother or other near relations of the preceding emperor considered himself to be the best fitted to wear the crown and would not give up his claim before sufficient trial of strength, and it meant chaos, unrest and disorder in the empire with consequent loss of prestige of the royal power. Taking advantage of such internal strife or weakness of the central government, the provincial governors did, as a matter of fact, often raise the standard of rebellion and some of the more ambitious of them even aspired to the throne of Delhi, as for instance, Jalaluddin Khilji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Bahlol Lodi. Had there been any recognized law of succession, or, in absence of it, had there been any duly authorised constitutional body like the Parliament of England, whose decision might be final in regard to these affairs, much of unnecessary bloodshed and commotion might have been avoided. But in the absence of both of them the country suffered a great deal from so much court intrigue, wars of succession, rebellion, murder of sovereigns, and other heinous acts that the onward march of the Empire was very often retarded.

Inspite of the defects in the organization of the government or in its works, as described above, the Muslims during the pre-Mughal period brought Northern India for a very long time and the greater part of the Deccan for about half a century under one Imperial unity in place of petty hostile states, hitherto fighting with one another for suzerainty. There was enough of chivalry in the Rajput blood, their patriotism was proverbial and their valour was universally acknowlodged, but what was wanting in them was the idea of national union. The Muslim State again taught the Indian people how to become a single power—a power having youthful vigour and a strong militia at its back. The new power imparted a new vigour and freshness to the Indian soil, which has lost much of its strength and power by petty strifes and internecine struggles.

"The military system of the Hindus was" also "out of date and old fashioned." They used to depend too much upon elephants, but that elephant was dangerous against well trained cavalry had been proved on many occasions, but still they would cling to this old method of warfare and even bitter experience could not make them change their minds. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, had excellent cavalry which was constantly recruited from beyond the Afghan hills.

Another important thing which the Muhammadans gave to India was better discipline and organization. The caste system of the Hindus worked as a hindrance in the way of their governmental organization. Even at times of national crisis they often refused to make a common cause for their own deliverance by merging the differences of their creeds or clans and thus put forth a concerted action under a common leader. The Muslims, on the other hand, had no caste barrier, and they could offer a united front against their enemies. No artificial barrier divided them in their actions and they stood shoulder to shoulder for their national cause.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY

Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State[1]

The royal order under notice is engraved in a panel on a stone post. It has been recently discovered at Bhilsa by the Gwalior State Archæological Department. It is being published, by the courtesy of the said department, from a photograph of the inscription. Bhilsa has been explored by the archaeologists as early as 1874, but this inscription does not appear to have been noticed so far.

Bhilsa is a railway station on the Bombay-Delhi main line of G. I. P. Railway and is 535 miles from Bombay. At present it is a growing town, being the head-quarters of a district of the same name in the Gwalior state.

It is one of the biggest centres of monuments of archaeological and historical interest in the State and the earliest monument discovered so far in the state belongs to Bhilsa.

Bhilsa is famous for its ancient site[2] which lies two miles N. W. of the present town called Bes or Besnagar identified with the Vesenagara, or Caityagiri of the Pāli works and the *Vidisā* of the *Purāṇas*, and was once the capital of a great kingdom. The city was of marked importance since many important relics dating between the 3rd century B.C. and the first century A.D. were unearthed from the site[3] and many others are still to be found in its close vicinity. The most important of these are the remains of Buddhist *stūpas* and shrines at Sanchi[4] and the inscribed *Garuḍa* pillar of a Vaiṣṇava Temple at Bes, called *Khamb Baba* locally known to the archaeologists as Heliodoros pillar.[5]

Bhilsa first appears in Muhammadan writings as *Mahabalistan* in *Alberuni's*[6] description of India written about 1030 A.D. In 1235 A.D. Bhilsa was attacked and sacked by Altamash,[7] who is said to have destroyed a great temple here. In 1290 A.D. Ala-ud-din[1] reduced the size of the town. He completely subjugated Malwa. Bhilsa, being on the borders of Malwa, was therefore attached to this province.

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[1] See I. H, Q., Vol. III, no. 4.

[2] See C. A. S. R., Vol. X, 34-146.

[3] See Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports 1913-14, 1914-15, pp. 186-226 and 23,-36.

[4] Sanchi lies 5 miles S.W. of this site. It is now included in the Bhopal State.

[5] J.R.A.S., October 1919, pp. 1053-1093.

[6] E. M. H, I. 59.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 328 and R. T., 622.

The inscription reproduced here[2] is inscribed on a stone-post fixed in the ground in front of the Gandhi Gate in the city wall of the present Bhilsa. The portion of the post above ground is about two feet and the top has been chamferred into a sort of conical shape. The inscribed panel measures 9½" × 13½". The inscription consisting of five lines of Persian prose in *Nastaliq* characters contains a royal warrant exempting the *Kolis* (the Hindu weaver class) from *Begar* (forced labour or compulsory service without wages). It does not contain any date, name of a king or any other person, and cannot therefore be assigned to any particular ruler of the Muhammadan period to which it evidently belongs. Locally it is ascribed to the time of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) who ravaged Bhilsa in A.D. 1682,[3] and changed its name into Alamgirpur—a name which did not become popular.

Considering the general intolerence, which Aurangzeb had towards non-Moslems, it appears quite improbable that Aurangzeb Alamgir would have at all extended this concession to the Kolis. Be that as it may, on palæographical grounds and keeping in view the foregoing tradition, I feel inclined to assign it to the later Mughal period preferably to Alamgir II (A.D. 1754-1773), by whose time the Mughal rule has almost declined.

The Kolis of Bhilsa enjoy the privilege even to-day hardly knowing of this royal decree.

The *Begar* system continues even now and has been more or less in vogue throughout India. A reference to this system may be traced back to 3,000 B.C. or to the olden days of the Egyptian and Babylonian civilization. The mention of *Begar* is found in tale XVII, chapter I of the *Gulistan*, of Shekh Sāde of Shiraz (Persia), written in A H. 656 (=A.D. 1258). Later on this system is mentioned in most of the Mussalman chronicles. It is therefore probable that this system developed and came to be widely practised during the rule of the Muhammadans though they may not necessarily be the originators.

RAMSINGH SAKSENA

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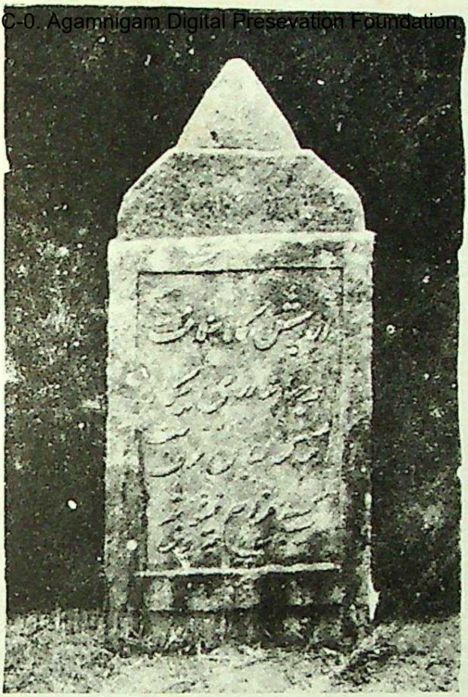
[1] E.M.H., III, 148 and 543.

[2] See annexed plate.

[3] E.M.H., VIII, 283.

PERSIAN INSCRIPTION AT BHILSA.



Line 1. از پیش گاه خلافت

Line 2. و جهانداري بيكار

Line 3. بر كوليان معاف است

Line 4. كسي مزاحم نشوند

Line 5. * * * * ●

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. From the threshold of Imperial Majesty.

Line 2. And dignity (the fiat is hereby decreed).

Line 3. Kolis (Hindu weaver class) are (henceforward) exempted from **Begar** (forced labour or compu'sory service without wages);

Line 4. None should run counter to it (i. e. attempt to exact **Begar** from the Kolis).

Daṇḍin's Conception of the Guṇas

Daṇḍin is one of the earliest known writers who treat of the Guṇas in connection with the Rīti, although the term Rīti itself, standardised by Vāmana, is never employed by him. The professed object of his work[1] is to describe what he calls 'the body of poetry and the embellishments thereof.' These embellishments consist of certain external modes of expressions and are covered by the general term Alaṃkāra (which is described as *kāvya-śobhākara dharma*), applicable as much to the technical Guṇas that form the essence of his postulated "ways of speech" (*girām mārgaḥ*, which is equivalent to the Rīti of other writers) as to the so-called *alaṃkāras* or poetic figures. Whatever enhances poetic beauty (*kāvya-śobhā*) is its Alaṃkāra, and in this view Daṇḍin's position is not fundamentally different from that of Vāmana who explains the term *alaṃkāra* broadly as beauty (*saundarya*) in a non-technical sense.

In the first chapter of his work Daṇḍin defines and classifies poetry and discusses at some length the special characteristics of the two extreme modes of composition (*mārga*), viz., the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍa, explaining the application or otherwise of the ten standard excellences or Guṇas which form all the while the criterion for their distinction, and giving throughout a preferential treatment to the Vaidarbha. In the beginning of the second chapter he first offers a general definition of *alaṃkāra* as embellishment *per se*, and then goes on to remark that in the previous chapter he has spoken of *alaṃkriyāḥ* in connection with the classification of the *mārgas*. The term *alaṃkriyāḥ* in this passage has thus a clear reference to the ten standard excellences which he has already dealt

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[1] Our references throughout are to the edition of Raṅgācārya, with the commentary of Taruṇavācaspati and the anonymous Hṛdayaṅgamā commentary (Madras, 1910), unless otherwise indicated. The editions of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa with his own commentary (Calcutta, Śaka 1803), and of Belvalkar and Reddi (with a new Sanskrit commentary and English notes) in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (1920), as well as Belvalkar's English translation (Poona 1924) have also been consulted. It is rarely that Böhtlingk's edition has been of use; its text follows generally that of the Calcutta edition.

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with as the essence of the Vaidarbha-mārga. Next, he says that he would now deal with the general (*sādhāraṇa*) *alaṃkāras*, which term obviously refers to the poetic figures that he is proceeding to discuss in the chapter under discussion. Thus, the Guṇas are *generally* laid down as *eka-mārga-gata*, pertaining to the excellent diction Vaidarbha, and therefore *viśiṣṭa alaṃkāras*, while the so-called poetic figures or *alaṃkāras* in the narrow sense are *mārga-dvaya-gata* or *sādhāraṇa*, because both the mārgas abound in such decorations as the *upamā*, *rūpaka* etc. Taruṇavācaspati comments on this : *śobhākaratvaṃ hi alaṃkāra-lakṣaṇam, tallakṣaṇa-yogāt te'pi* [*śleṣādayo daśa guṇā api*] *alaṃkārāḥ......guṇā alaṃkārā eva ity ācāryāḥ.*

From this we are not to understand, with P. V. Kane, that "Daṇḍin's work......makes no distinction between the Guṇas and the Alaṃkāras," for while to Daṇḍin every Guṇa is an Alaṃkāra, he nowhere states that every Alaṃkāra is a Guṇa. What is meant is not that the Guṇas and the Alaṃkāras are identical, but that the embellishments like *śleṣa* etc., which are technically called Guṇas, form the *sine qua non* of a diction *par excellence*, which cannot go without them ; whereas the figures of speech or Alaṃkāras like *upamā* etc. are not the special characteristics of a specific diction but they may reside in all kinds of diction. From this we may conclude that so far as a good composition is concerned Daṇḍin makes the Guṇas (but not the poetic figures) its absolute condition, a position approximating that of Vāmana who, however, commits himself to the clear statement that the Guṇas constitute an inseparable attribute of poetry,[1] implying thereby that it can do without Alaṃkāras or poetic figures. Thus, when the technical excellence and the poetic figure are both termed *alaṃkāra* in a non-technical sense, and yet a technical distinction is implied between them as characteristics of a diction, we may well hold that Daṇḍin as S. K. De remarks[2] "practically fore-shadows, if he does not theoretically develop the rigid differentiation between the Guṇa and the Alaṃkāra of the Rīti school".

We have seen that Daṇḍin treats of the Guṇas in connection with his conception of the *mārga*, which is equivalent to the Rīti, and not in relation to *rasa* (as writers on *Rasa* and *Dhvani* theories do), the fundamental importance of which had not yet been recognised in theory. Proceeding to describe the distinctive characteristics of the two (among many) extreme ways of speech (*mārga* or *vartman*), Daṇḍin lays down:[1]

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[1] *Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, iii, 2, 1-3.

[2] *Sanskrit Poetics*, II, p. 106.

> *śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryaṃ sukumāratā/*
> *arthavyaktir udāratvam ojaḥ-kānti -samādhayaḥ//*
> *iti vaidarbha-mārgasya prāṇā daśa guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ/*
> *eṣāṃ viparyayaḥ prāyo dṛśyate gauḍa-vartmani//*

It will be well to bear in mind here that Daṇḍin, like his predecessors, does not give a general definition of the Guṇa ; but he describes it broadly in connection with the *doṣas* (iv, 1)[2] by the statement that *doṣas* mar the poetic effect just as the *guṇas* heighten it. In the verses cited above Daṇḍin mentions ten guṇas, which follow those of Bharata in their number and nomenclature but differ in their content. They are described as the very "life-breath" of the Vaidarbha-mārga. If we accept the term *vaidarbha-mārga* to be an *upalakṣaṇa*, standing for a standard good diction, as S. P. Bhattacharyya has suggested,[3] Daṇḍin's position is that the excellences just mentioned are essential in any good composition. But the Gauḍa-vartman often (*prāyaḥ*) presents a different aspect, the conception of the Gauḍas about the essentials of a diction being apparently different from that of the Vaidarbhas. Some controversy exists over the meaning of the term *viparyaya* in this verse. Those who accept Taruṇavācaspati's interpretation would take it to mean *vaiparītya*, i. e., opposition or contrariety, while others following the *Hṛdayaṅgamā* mean by it *anyathātva*, i. e., difference or divergence. The ten fixed excellences, viz., *śleṣa* etc., are said to constitute the essential characteristics of the Vaidarbha-mārga, but if it is asked what constitutes the essential characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga we cannot reasonably answer that the opposites of these excellences (which would really be *doṣas* or faults) do it ; i.e. if "*eṣām*" in i, 42. is taken to refer to the essentials (*prāṇāḥ*), then the term *viparyaya* should mean *anyathātva* instead of *vaiparītya*.

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[1] *Kāvyādarśa*, i, 41-42.

[2] [This verse is missing in the Calcutta (Premcandra) and Bombay (Reddi and Belvalkar) editions, as well as in the edition of Böhtlingk. It is also missing in the Tibetan version (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 349). As this extra verse is found in the Madras edition only, it would not be profitable to deduce any definite conclusion therefrom.—S. K. D.].

[3] *The Gauḍī Rīti in Theory and Practice* in the *I.H.Q.*, June, 1927.

The point requires some explanation. If, in this case, *viparyaya* is interpreted to imply 'the reverse" or "the opposite", the fundamental characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga are relegated to the position of something like *doṣas* and would correspond to such *doṣas* as are actually defined as *arītimat* by Bhoja.[1] We cannot, however, hold that the Gauḍa-mārga could have been defined as something marked by the opposites of the excellences constituting the Vaidarbha-mārga, for these would be devoid of all charm and would hardly constitute a poetic diction. Daṇḍin presents to us the type of the Gauḍa-mārga which is not, really speaking, devoid of charm, nor condemned outright. In spite of his decided partiality for the Vaidarbha and a mild aversion for the Gauḍa manner, we are not convinced that he meant to deprive the latter of the recognition that was its due. S. P. Bhattacharyya has already shewn[1] that even long before the time of Daṇḍin the Gauḍī Rīti had, side by side with the widely accepted Vaidarbhī, an established tradition of its own, which Daṇḍin himself could not ignore.

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[1] *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (K. M. edition) p. 24. In the enumeration of this set of negative *guṇa-viparyaya-doṣas*, besides the technically defined positive *doṣas*, Bhoja was, perhaps, influenced by Vāmana's dictum *guṇa-viparyayātmano doṣāh*—ii, 1, 1 (where, however, the term *viparyaya* can rightly be taken to mean "the opposite," since *doṣas* in Vāmana's theory bear characteristics opposite to those of the *guṇas* ; that is, if the *guṇas* create poetic charm the *doṣas* destroy it) as well as by the treatment of Daṇḍin's *viparyayas*. Bhoja's *viparyayas* mean certainly *vaiparītya*, since each of a set of nine out of twenty-four of his *guṇas* has on principle been shown to have a particular *doṣa* corresponding to it ; and the *doṣas* which thus arise do not attach themselves to a particular Rīti, so that by reason of these *viparyayas* the Gauḍī Rīti, or for the matter of that, any other Rīti does not unnecessarily suffer from deficiency. But while Bhoja was partially influenced by Daṇḍin in evolving such a set of faults, he does not appear to have followed any fixed tradition. Some of these *guṇas* which have been shewn to have a set of corresponding *doṣas* are defined after Vāmana, and some after Daṇḍin. Besides, Bhoja, on principle, invents a *viparyaya* of each of the ten Guṇas (excepting Samādhi) of Vāmana or of Daṇḍin, while Daṇḍin names or characterises the *viparyayas* of only some of them, the other Guṇas being common to both the Mārgas. Bhoja calls the *viparyayas* distinct *doṣas*, and as such they are not the characteristics of a particular Rīti, whereas Daṇḍin's *viparyayas* are sometimes the characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga, and he never uses the term *doṣa* in their connection, excepting once in i, 69. Thus Bhoja's *viparyayas* are negative entities, being always the exact opposites of some corresponding *guṇas*, whereas Daṇḍin's *viparyayas* are partly the characteristics of his Gauḍa-mārga, and as such, they constitute positive entities.

On the other hand, if *viparyaya* is taken to mean *anyathātva*, the utmost we can hold against the Gauḍa-mārga is that its standard of a poetical composition differs from that prevalent in the very widely recognised Vaidarbha; and that in their attempt to attain that standard the propounders of the Gauḍa diction did not mind if they sometimes deviated from the practice prevalent in the other mode.[2]

The controversy about the exact meaning of *viparyaya* really raises distinctions without much difference, and the ultimate conclusion derivable from the different views is almost the same. Thus, we may distinguish three different views :

(1) The Gauḍa-mārga generally presents a different aspect as regards the essentials of a diction. The word *eṣām* in this case would refer to the essentials (*prāṇāḥ*) and *viparyaya* would mean *anyathātva* or a different aspect.

(2) Far-fetchedness, unevenness etc. which are themselves the opposites of excellences like lucidity (*prasāda*), evenness (*samatā*) etc. are sometimes noticed as existing in the Gauḍa-mārga. The word *eṣām* in this case would refer to *śleṣādīnāṃ guṇānām* and *viparayaya* would mean *vaiparītya* or opposite.

(3) The conception of the Gauḍas regarding the excellences of composition generally differs from that of the Vaidarbha.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Taruṇavācaspati, who explains *viparyaya* as 'opposite' (i, 42), remarks in connection with i. 88; *kānti-viparyayam atyukti-nāma guṇaṃ gauḍābhimataṃ darśayati.* This statement confirms our belief that the Gauḍas could not have taken the *viparyayas* as positive blemishes since they were supposed to add charm to their composition, and that the Gauḍas had possibly a tradition of their own, which though sometimes different from that of the Vaidarbhas, was equally appreciated by a class of writers and theorists.

This view may be arrived at from the hint given in the *Hṛdayaṅgamā*, where *eṣām* has been taken to refer to *śleṣādīnāṃ guṇānām* and *viparyaya* to mean *anyathātva*.

All these interpretations, though seemingly divergent so far as the terms *eṣām* and *viparyaya* are concerned, lead us to some important conclusions on which there appears to be general agreement. No one would perhaps deny that (i) the ideals of composition differ generally in these two types of poetry, i.e. if the Vaidarbha-kāvya demands compactness of structure, clarity of expression, a sense of proportion, evenness of syllable-structure etc., the Gauḍas are satisfied with hyperbole and verbosity, alliteration and bombastic expressions, and such other characteristics. (ii) In order to attain this standard the Gauḍas do not care if they have sometimes to have recourse to *śaithilya*, *vaiṣamya* etc. But it must not be understood on that account that looseness, harshness, unevenness of syllable-structure etc., which are deviations from or even opposites of qualities like *śleṣa*, *sukumāratā* and *samatā*, form the inseparable characteristics (*prāṇāḥ*) of the Gauḍa-mārga, as the excellences like *śleṣa*, *prasāda* etc. are of the Vaidarbha-mārga. (iii) Far-fetchedness, exaggeration, looseness etc. are looked upon as positive excellences by the Gauḍas, who *sometimes* entertain them in poetry for a particular purpose, viz, the achievement of their standard of poetry which differs[1] fundamentally from that of the Vaidarbhas,—the one emphasising the chaste and classical manner and the other preferring the fervid and the bombastic. That Daṇḍin meant to imply all this will be clear as we proceed with his treatment of the individual Guṇas, which we now propose to take up in detail.

(1) **Śleṣa.** It is found in a composition which is free from looseness (*śaithilya*), and this looseness consists in the use of *alpa-prāṇa* syllables, i.e. syllables containing unaspirated letters which require little effort in pronouncing, or more technically the first and third

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[1] The word *prāyas* in i, 41 is important in this connection. The characteristics of these two types of poetry often differ but sometimes they agree. The Gauḍa-mārga sometimes presents opposites of and deviations from the excellences prevailing in the Vaidarbha, but qualities such as *samādhi*, *arthavyakti*, *audārya*, *mādhurya* and *ojas* are more or less common to both the *mārgas*, as we shall see hereafter.

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(non-conjunct) letters of each *varga*, and the semi-vowels and nasals, the rest being mahāprāṇa-syllables.[1] The Vaidarbhas are fond of compactness of syllabic binding (*bandha-gaurava*), which is illustrated by examples like *mālatī-mālā laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ*, where, though soft syllables like *mā* and *la* are present, the effect of looseness or *śaithilya* has been removed by the use of *mahāprāṇa* syllables and conjunct consonants, and as such the passage illustrates the excellence *śleṣa*. A fondness for alliteration inclines the Gauḍas to accept instead a composition like *mālatīmālā lolālikalilā*, though it contains *alpa-prāṇa* syllables and consequently involves *śaithilya*. It is, however, not meant that *śaithilya*[2] in itself is a blemish. From the point of view of the Vaidarbhas it may appear so, and Daṇḍin elsewhere says that all soft syllables constitute a blemish of looseness (*bandha-śaithilya-doṣo hi darśitaḥ sarvakomale*, i, 69). But to the Gauḍas it is a preferable excellence of diction inasmuch as it gives more scope to alliteration.

(2) PRASĀDA. It is the excellence which conveys a sense which is well-known (*prasiddhārtha*) and easily comprehended (*pratīti-subhaga*). Theorists, old and new, define and emphasise this special excellence almost in the same way. Too much strain required to arrive at a meaning spoils the charm of poetry. The illustration given by Daṇḍin is *indor indīvara-dyuti lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanoti* "the moon's spot resembling the glow of a blue lotus increases its beauty." Here the words *indu*, *indīvara*, *lakṣmī* and *lakṣma* are so well-known that the expression conveys its sense without any effort. Here, as elsewhere, Daṇḍin speaks of the characteristics of the Gauḍa-mārga side by side with the excellences attached to the Vaidarbha. The Gauḍas who aim at learned expressions prefer even what is not conventional (*nāti-rūḍha*). Since their idea of poetic excellence differs from that of the Vaidarbhas they hold that poets can achieve distinction only when they have mastered etymologies and vocabularies and can use difficult words and round-about expressions, while the Vaidarbhas aim

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[1] *Ayugmā varga-yamagā yaṇaścālpāsavaḥ samṛtāḥ*, quoted by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita under Pāṇini, viii, 2, 1. On these technical terms, see Belvalkar's notes on *Kāvyādarśa* (Bombay edition), pp. 55 f.

[2] We do not think that *śaithilya* is exactly the opposite of *śleṣa*, which is an admixture of *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahāprāṇa* syllables. A composition consisting exclusively of *mahāprāṇa* syllables would constitute the exact opposite of *śaithilya*.

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at making their composition lucid and easily intelligible to every reader by the use of well-understood expressions. Here we would like to maintain that the term *vyutpanna* is not the name of the *viparyaya* corresponding to the *prasāda*, but that we follow the *Hṛdayaṅgamā* in interpreting it as *vyutpannaṃ iti* (*hetoḥ*), i.e., by reason of its being learned.[1] The example given[2] of the Gauḍa mode contains difficult expressions, the meanings of which are not clear on the surface. Arjuna generally means the third Pāṇḍava and it is not *rūḍha* in the sense of 'white' : the expressions *valakṣagu* (white-rayed, i.e. moon) and *anatyarjuna* (*anati-dhavala*) are round-about and unusual.

(3) SAMATĀ. It consists in the absence of unevenness[3] in syllabic structure, or rather in the arrangement of letters (*varṇa-vinyāsa*). There must be an evenness between the beginning and ending of a stanza as regards the arrangement of letters or syllables, i.e. if a passage begins with soft vocables it must end similarly. There are three kinds of such structure (*bandha*), namely, (i) soft (*mṛdu*) (ii) harsh (*sphuṭa*) and (iii) temperate or mixed (*madhyama*), arising from the grouping together of soft, harsh or mixed letters. The examples of *samatā* consisting of three structures (*bandhas*) and that of the uneven structure (*vaiṣamya*) are given in two verses (i, 48-49). Each half-verse is supposed to consist of the example of a particular *bandha*, whereas the latter half of the second verse illustrates *vaiṣamya*[4]

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[1] [This is quite plausible. But in spite of this strict stress on a dubious grammatical construction, there appears also the implication that the *viparyaya*, as described in i, 42, of Prasāda can perhaps be designated as *vyutpanna*. Compare, for instance, Śithila which is a *viparyaya* of Śleṣa, but which is not expressly designated as such. But this does not affect the general argument and is merely academic so long as *viparyaya* is not taken to connote a direct opposite or a positive blemish. The same remark applies also to *dīpta* below—S. K. D.].

[2] ... ... *anatyarjunā'bjanma-sadṛkṣāṅko valakṣaguḥ*.

[3] On the variant reading *samaṃ bandheṣu viṣamam* (Bombay ed.), see Belvalkar's notes in his edition at pp. 45 f.

[4] Belvalkar and Rangacarya reasonably suggest that to avoid syntactical difficulties these two verses should be taken as separate examples of *vaiṣamya*, whereas "the halves are by themselves examples of Samatā." Thus we should connect the word *iti* in the beginning of i, 50 with the two previous verses, and not with the latter half of the second verse only.

The Gauḍas, we are told, admit such compositions (even though they lack uniformity of syllable structure) for the sake of richness of ideas and *alaṃkāras*, which being their specific aim, they do not care whether they find it in an even or and uneven structure. Taruṇavācaspati suggests that, even though each half-verse contains an example of *samatā*, the soft (*mṛdu*) and harsh (*sphuṭa*) *bandhas* are not accepted by the Vaidarbhas, for the soft structure is devoid of distinction and the harsh one of agreeableness, implying thereby that the Gauḍas would sometimes like the *samatā* displayed in soft and harsh structures, and hence they would not have recourse to *vaiṣamya* as a matter of principle. In certain cases, however, they would sacrifice evenness for the sake of *artha-ḍambara* and *alaṃkāra-ḍambara.*[1]

(4) MĀDHURYA. It consists in the establishment of *rasa* in the word and in the theme[2] (*vāci vastuny api rasa-sthitiḥ*, i, 51). S. K. De has already shown[3] that the term *rasa* as found in Daṇḍin's treatment does not involve the technical sense in which it is used by the *rasa* and *dhvani*-theorists, but should be taken in the non-technical sense of pleasing poetic flavour generally. But in Daṇḍin's Mādhurya, as S. K. De further points out,[4] the term *rasa* seems to bear another distinct technical connotation which is different from that given by the Rasa and Dhvani schools ; and this is implied in the special meaning attached by Daṇḍin to the *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa* involved in his Mādhurya, the former consisting of repetition of sounds belonging to the same *śruti* (*śrutyanuprāsa*) and the latter connoting absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*). Taruṇavācaspati rightly gives them the names of *śabda-mādhurya* (i, 52) and *artha-mādhurya* (i, 62) respectively,

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[1] [The terms *artha-ḍambara* and *alaṃkāra-ḍambara* should be explained as indicating a partiality for excessive ornamentation and for exaggerated conceptions, which latter cannot be strictly called ornamentation. The *akṣara-ḍambara* (i.e., *śabda-ḍambara*), which Bāṇa refers to as a characteristic of the Gauḍas, must mean a certain leaning towards verbal bombast, while *artha-ḍambara* is not exactly verbal bombast but has also an implication of what may be called 'mental bombast.'—S. K. D.].

[2] or sense (*artha*, i. 62).

[3] *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 137. fn.

[4] *The Theory of Rasa* in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume (Orientalia, vol. III), p. 212, where the subject has been fully treated.

suggesting thereby a two-fold characteristic of this special excellence. Daṇḍin himself recognised the two-fold aspect of this particular *guṇa*, as will be understood from his remark *vibhaktam iti mādhuryam* in i, 68. It is noteworthy that he has nowhere else made any distinction between a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-guṇa* as Vāmana has done ; nor, like Bharata, does he expressly state that he looked upon any *guṇa* as relating either to *śabda* or to *artha*. The standard of distinction between a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-guṇa*, which the later writers describe as *āśrayāśrayi-bhāva* and which we find first fully established in Vāmana's work[1] leads us to judge that some of the Guṇas of Bharata and Daṇḍin belong to *śabda*, some to *artha* and others again to both.

The *vāg-rasa* or *śabda-mādhurya* is said to consist of what is called *śrutyanuprāsa*. This is not alliteration consisting of repetition of the same or similar syllables, but it is the name given to the specific grouping of similar sounds[2] (*śruti-sāmya*) which exists in letters belonging to the same *sthāna* or place of utterance and effort (e.g., *kaṇṭha*, *tālu*, *danta*, etc.), or homogenous letters to which Pāṇini (i, 1, 9) gives the name *savarṇa* and which is defined as *tulyāsya-prayatna*. The example given in this connection is *eṣa rājā yadā lakṣmīṃ prāptavān brāhmaṇa-priyaḥ*, where the use of *ṣ* and *r*, *y* and *l*, *t* and *d* as well as *p* and *b* produces *śrutyanuprāsa*, which, involving an economy of effort in articulation, gives a special pleasure to the Vaidarbhas, who avoid, for fear of incurring monotony, mere *varṇānuprāsa* or the alliteration consisting of repetition of similar letters.[3] The Gauḍas, however, are fond of *varṇānuprāsa* displayed in examples[1] like *cāru candramasaṃ bhīru bimbaṃ paśyaitad ambare| manmano manmathākrāntaṃ nirdayaṃ hantum udyatam||*, where the repetition of *ca*, *ba*, *ma*, and *na* in the words produce the desired alliteration. Here the Gauḍas take special care to see that too many syllables do not intervene the repetition of similar letters (*adūratā*, i, 58), for that would destroy the immediateness of the effect.

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[1] The *Kāmadhenu* calls it *śabdārthopaśleṣa-vaśāt......bhedaḥ* (p. 84 V. V. Series).

[2] S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 101, fn. 8. The *yamaka* is excluded expressly (i, 61) as being not conducive to *mādhurya*.

[3] [The respective effects produced by the two kinds of *anuprāsa* are described in i, 52 and i, 55. When within any group of vocables is experienced a similarity of sounds, a juxtaposition of words (*padāsatti*) exhibiting that kind of similarity apparently produces the specific kind of alliteration called *śrutyanuprāsa*, which involves an economy of effort due to a restriction to the same *sthāna* of articulation. The *varṇāvṛtti*, on the other hand, is contiguity (*adūratā*) which awakens latent impressions from the immediately earlier cognition of the same sound produced by the same letters (*purvānubhava-saṃskāra-bodhinī*). Here also there is an economy

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra remark that the *vāg-rasa* (or the *śabda-mādhurya* as Taruṇavācaspati calls it) consists both of *śrutyanuprāsa* and *varṇānuprāsa*, and as such it will be clear that *mādhurya*, which as a *śabda-guṇa* consists of the repetition of sounds or syllables, is admitted in both the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes, the only difference being that the character of alliteration slightly differs in the two Mārgas, the one emphasising *śruti* and the other *varṇa*. Taruṇavācaspati suggests (i, 60) that the word *prāyaḥ* in i, 54 signifies that *śrutyanuprāsa* and *varṇānuprāsa* are both accepted in both the *mārgas* : only in i, 59-60 it has been stated that the Vaidarbhas do not admit specific kinds of alliteration, like *smaraḥ khalaḥ* etc., where the alliteration is not accepted on account of its harsh structure in the first half and on account of its loose structure in the second half.

Coming to *vastu-rasa* or *artha-mādhurya* Daṇḍin appears to imply that since embellishment is the general source of poetic charm and since all *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* go to embellish poetry, it may be granted generally that all embellishment imbues the sense with *vastu-rasa* or *artha-mādhurya* ; yet what specially does this is the absence of *grāmyatā*, in which is also included the idea of *aślīlatva*[2] of later writers, and which belongs both to *śabda* and to

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of effort, but since one and the same letter is repeated the economy is supposed to decline into a weariness caused by the employment in the same way of the same organs of articulation.—S. K. D.].

[1] [Two kinds of *varṇānuprāsa* appear to be distinguished in the two examples (given in i, 57), viz., in metrical feet (*pāda*) or in word (*pada*). They must be of sufficient contiguity to awaken the impression.—S. K. D.]

[2] [It is rather curious that Daṇḍin should bring in the idea of *aślīlatva* or indecency in this Guṇa. This apparently shows that the *rasa* in this Guṇa is taken not in the technical sense of the Rasa-theorists, but in the general sense of pleasing poetic effect produced

artha.[1] This *vastu-rasa* or *artha-mādhurya* which can be induced by all embellishment but which is specially marked by the absence of coarseness and vulgarity is accepted both by the Vaidarbhas and and by the Gauḍas. Indecorous and vulgar expressions and ideas are rejected by both, for Daṇḍin clearly lays down : *evamādi na śaṃsanti mārgayor ubhayor api* (i, 67).[2]

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by a certain arrangement of word (*vāc*) or matter (*vastu*). Such pleasing effect in the mind of the Sahṛdaya is apt to be marred by anything which is *grāmya.* The *grāmya* is not vulgar in the restricted sense, but Daṇḍin brings under its connotation the *aślīla* (both in word and sense, and not in sense alone) which equally disturbs a good and pleasing sense. Bharata appears to comprehend the *aślīla* in an aspect of the fault *bhinnārtha,* while Bhāmaha includes it under *duṣṭatā* (in *śruti* and *artha*) in his first list of general *doṣas.* This first list of Bhāmaha's ten *doṣas* appears from the context to mention those which concern the inner nature of poetry, for it is dealt with in connection with the classification and general characteristics of poetry ; while the second list of another ten *doṣas* includes faults which are more or less external. This second list of Bhāmaha is accepted and verbally repeated by Daṇḍin, but he does not mention the first list of ten *doṣas*, as well as most of Bharata's original ten *doṣas,* which includes the idea of the *aślīla.* In treating the Guṇas taken as essential characteristics of good poetry, Daṇḍin could not very well avoid referring to some of the essential *doṣas* (e.g. *neyatva* in *arthavyakti*) although he does not define and distinguish them properly ; and in *mādhurya* it was natural for him to bring in the idea of the avoidance of the *aślīla.*—S. K. D.]

[1] In i, 63-64 and i, 66-67 two kinds of indecorous expression are distinguished. The proposal in i, 63 is direct and therefore vulgar ; in i, 64 it is reached by implication and therefore taken as quite decorous. In i, 66 words are used which, if united together, give rise to a new word in Sanskrit by combination, which conveys a vulgar meaning. In i, 67 the words used, possessing more than one meaning, give rise to an undesirable and indecorous suggestion.

[2] Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra remark that Daṇḍin establishes this definition of *mādhurya* by rejecting the one given by Vāmana (*pṛthak-padatvam*), since this excellence consists in alliteration (in its verbal aspect) and as such it may as well be present

(5) SUKUMĀRATĀ. It consists in the absence of harshness due to the use of mostly soft syllables. But it has been remarked in connection with Śleṣa that the presence of all soft syllables in a composition makes it *śithila*, and as such it ceases to be excellent with the Vaidarbhas. What is implied here is that soft syllables must remain mixed up with slightly harsh ones and conjuct consonants, and that the total effect must be a certain elegance. It might be argued that such an admixture is not a distinctive criterion: Sukumāratā might have a chance of being confused with Śleṣa. To this Tarkavāgīśa remarks that the admixture of *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahāprāṇa* syllables constitutes *śleṣa*, whereas Sukumāratā consists in tenderness as a total effect arising from the admixture of soft (*komala*) and harsh (*paruṣa*) letters. Nor should we understand that what is *alpaprāṇa* is necessarily *komala* and what is *mahāprāṇa*, *paruṣa*. Even unaspirated letters may give rise to harshness by reason of a specific admixture (*alpaprāṇasyāpi varṇa-viśeṣa-saṃyoga-tvena paruṣatva-sambhavāt*, p. 69). Similarly aspirated letters too may give rise to *komalatva* as a total effect under special circumstances. Thus, it is the general effect that forms the critertion of *paruṣatva* or *komalatva* syllables. In a *śithila-bandha* the syllables are all *alpaprāṇa* and the general effect is 'loose'. In *śleṣa* this looseness is overcome by the presence of *mahāprāṇa* syllables, appearing side by side with the *alpaprāṇa* ones and making the general effect compact. In the example *mālatīdāma laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ* the conjunct consonants shine prominently and seem to make the structure generally compact. But the example *maṇḍlī-kṛtya varhāṇi* etc. (of Sukumāratā) consists of an admixture of *alpa-prāṇa* syllables slightly with *mahāprāṇa* ones, as well as conjunct consonants, but the general effect is not harsh or inelegant. The conjunct consonants do not shine prominently and consequently there is no such touch of cohesiveness or compactness as in the expression :.........*laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ*.

Here too Daṇḍin presents the Gauḍa ideal side by side. Whereas the Vaidarbhas accept Sukumāratā in which expressions consisting of unharsh vocables generally predominate, the Gauḍas have an eye to a 'glaring composition', and consequently they do not

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in compound words. But this unhistorical statement ignores the chronological relation between Daṇḍin and Vāmana, and therefore possesses little value.

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mind if their poetry involves harsh vocables requiring much strain for pronouncing them. The example given here *nyakṣeṇa kṣapitaḥ pakṣaḥ* etc. consists of harsh vocables, but to achieve a glaring or grand effect, as well as an exuberance of alliteration, the Gauḍas do not care if they have to sacrifice the general tenderness of structure so welcomed in the Vaidarbha-mārga. We would like to interpret the words *dīptam iti* as *dīptam iti* (*hetoḥ*), following the *Hṛdayaṅgamā's* indication with reference to *vyutpanna* in i, 46. These terms[1] *vyutpanna*, *dīpta* etc. give us some of the standard characteristics which the Gauḍas aim at, and they also serve as an apology for the Gauḍa poet's deviations from some of the *guṇas* prevailing in the Vaidarbha mode. Such an interpretation will not be out of place here, since Daṇḍin has all along been presenting the fundamental characteristics that distinguish the two types of poetry.

(6) ARTHAVYAKTI. It is the explicitness of sense which consists in the absence of *neyatva*,[2] that is, in the absence of extraneous matter to be brought over for the completion of the sense. In other words, it is that excellence in which the idea of a passage is quite clear from the words actually used, and no implication is necessary for the completion of the sense. The example given here *hariṇoddhṛtā bhūḥ* etc. (i, 73) contains Arthavyakti since the redness of the ocean has been explictly stated to be due to the blood of the snakes that were crushed by Hari's claws. The *neyatva*[3] is illustrated in the next verse where the reader requires an implication to be

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[1] [They are all the same called *viparyaya* in i, 42. It does not really matter whether these are the actual names of the *viparyayas*, or generally describe what is understood by *viparyaya* in the Gauḍa-mārga, so long as the very likely interpretation which the writer puts on the word *viparyaya* is accepted.—S. K. D.].

[2] Daṇḍin does not recognise *neyatva* and *grāmyatva* in his treatment of ten technical *doṣas*. The Post-dhvani writers enumerate a fault called *neyārtha* where a secondary (indicated) sense is had recourse to without any established usage (*rūḍhi*) or special motive (*prayojana*), one of which is absolutely necessary in Indication. The verse which illustrates *neyatva* here would be an example of the technical fault *nirhetutā* in the treatment of Post-dhvani writers.

[3] This must be distinguished from the technical faults *nyāyavirodhi* which Daṇḍin deals with in iv, 51-54.

understood as to why the ocean was reddened. The Vaidarbhas and the Gauḍas both reject it: *nedṛśaṃ bahu manyante mārgayor ubhayor api* (i, 75), because the sense is not apprehensible where the *śabda-nyāya*[1] (i.e. the law of the expressive power of the words) has been violated. Thus Arthavyakti as an excellence is admitted in both the mārgas. It will be clear, therefore, that if there were anything which the Vaidarbhas would reject and which could be recognised as a technical blemish, it would be equally rejected by the Gauḍas. In other words, a veritable *doṣa* the Gauḍas would avoid just like the Vaidarbhas.

We must not think that since Daṇḍin's Prasāda and Arthavyakti both involve explicitness of sense, these two guṇas should be identical. A distinction, though very subtle, can be made in this respect between these *guṇas*. J. Nobel rightly points out that in Prasāda the sense must not be too unusual, words should be used in their obvious or generally understood senses; whereas in Arthavyakti the connection of ideas must be apprehended from the words actually used, there must not be any expectation (*ākāṅkṣā*) of further word or words to complete the sense.

(7) UDĀRATĀ. It implies an elevation consisting of the expression of some high merit;[2] literally, upon the utterance of which (*yasmin ukte*) is suggested (*pratīyate*) some excellence possessing elevation (*utkarṣavān guṇaḥ kaścit*). The Udāratā is said to be present in all the Mārgas.[3]

In the example given of this excellence (i, 77) is implied the eminence of the king's liberality (*tyāgasya utkarṣaḥ*), which is not directly expressed in so many words. It is not clear[4] what Daṇḍin

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[1] The *Hṛdayaṅgamā* explains the *śabda-nyāya* thus: *yāvad artho' bhimatas tāvac chabdena bhavitavyam, śabdasyāpi yāvad artha-pratipādana-śaktis tāvad arthena bhavitavyam iti śabda-śāstra-nyāyaḥ.*

[2] *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 101.

[3] ....*tena sanāthā sarva-paddhatiḥ* (Madras ed.). The other editions read *kāvya* in place of *sarva*: yet we can take it that this *guṇa* is entertained in both types of poetry in the absence of the mention of the corresponding characteristic prevalent in the Gauḍa-kāvya.

[4] [It does not certainly refer to any elevated way of expression but to some implied high merit or *utkarṣavān dharma* of the subject-matter described. Thus, it is not equivalent to the *uttānapadatā* of

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really means by this definition. The use of the expression *pratīyate* in the definition reminds us of the *partīyamāna artha* of the Dhvani theorists.[1] But we are not certain if the concept of Dhvani as such was at all recognised so early.

Daṇḍin mentions an alternative definition of *udāratā* in deference to the view of "some" (*kaiścit*), which is "something characterised by commendable or eulogistic epithets" (*ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam*) such as *līlāmbuja*, *krīḍā-saras* etc. Taruṇavācaspati interprets *ślāghya* as *vaiśiṣṭya-pratīti-kṛt*, i.e., bringing into comprehension its pecularity or distinctive character, and this is supported apparently by Daṇḍin's examples. But we need not take it in this restricted significance alone.

(8) OJAS. It consists in the super-abundance (*bhūyastva*) of compound words, and it appears to be accepted in both the Mārgas. In the Vaidarbha-mārga it is the soul of prose ; even in verse this is the sole resort of the Gauḍas. It is said to be of manifold variety according as there is a profusion or paucity of heavy (*guru*) or light (*laghu*) syllables or an equal mixture of both. This apparently refers to the prosodic long and short syllables. It is further added that this excellence is met with in compositions like *ākhyāyikā*. But since the fine distinctions between the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* are not favoured by Daṇḍin, we may presume that Ojas of manifold

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the *Agni-purāṇa* (34,69). It must, however, be distinguished from the poetic figure *udātta* in ii, 300, where the greatness, high merit or prosperity of a personage is directly expressed or described ; and in this light the use of the word *pratīyate* in the definition of the *guṇa* is important. As the illustration shows, Daṇḍin appears to think that the *varṇanā-bhaṅgī* is essential : otherwise, the *udāratā* could hardly be an excellence of diction. But it need not mean any technical suggestiveness or *pratīyamānatā* of the Dhvani-theorists, although the word *pratīyate* is actually used. The alternative definition of the *guṇa* cited by Daṇḍin speaks of praiseworthy epithets (*ślāghya viśeṣaṇa*) : but this, as the example shows, only refers to *epitheta ornatia* of a distinguishing character, like 'toy-lotus', etc. The pregnancy of meaning implied in the first as well as the second definition must therefore be taken in an extremely narrow sense ; and the *udāratā* is a *guṇa* in so far as it depends upon a particular way of description or *varṇanā-bhaṅgī*.—S. K. D.].

[1] Premcandra interprets in this definite sense.

variety is acceptable as the life of prose (*gadyasya jīvitam*) in all kinds of prose composition. The employment of compounds[1] was probably meant to add force or energy to the diction.

The Gauḍas, we are told, like long compounds even in metrical composition.[2] The Vaidarbhas, too, use compounds in verses, but whereas the Gauḍas are indiscriminately fond of long compounds, the Vaidarbhas would admit them in verses only when they serve to afford charm without much strain, and do not produce confusion (*anākulam*). Thus, in brief, Ojas, is particularly a characteristic excellence with the Gauḍa poets, who use it to any degree in any composition, while the Vaidarbhas apply it with greater discretion and with certain restrictions.[3]

(9) KĀNTI. It is said to predominate in a composition which is agreeable to the whole world on account of its not transgressing the general usage or ordinary possibilities. Briefly, it is the absence of the unnatural. This excellence, we are told, is generally found

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[1] In the treatment of Ānandavardhana (p. 141) compound words constitute the criterion of *saṃghaṭanā* and not of *guṇa*. The primacy of Rasa having been admitted, Ānanda could not maintain that any amount or variety of compound words might be used in any kind of prose composition. Long and middling compounds may be employed in the *ākhyāyikā*, but since the depiction of sentiment, particularly *śṛṅgāra*, predominates in the *kathā*, the compounds must be used with an eye to its awakening, and too many long compounds would be detrimental.

[2] Ojas and, for the matter of that, long compounds have all along been accepted as the *sine qua non* of the Gauḍī Rīti, and even in the twelfth century Śrīharṣa regaled the scholarly Indian with his brilliant and sonorous verses. See S. P. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*

[3] Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra refer to the view of one Maṅgala along with Vāmana, and remark that they reject Daṇḍin's definition of Ojas on the ground that long compounds cannot be the special characteristic of Ojas, since this excellence resides in all the three Rītis (whereas long compounds are met with only in the Gauḍī Rīti). We must not, however, place much reliance on these remarks of later writers. About Maṅgala we know nothing except what we get in such references: but all the three Rītis of Vāmana do not contain Ojas, for his Pāñcālī has not been defined as possessing it.

in *Vārttā* and *Varṇanā*. The meaning of the term *vārttā* is not clear; but the *Hṛdayaṅgamā* explains it as *anyonya-kathanam*, and *varṇanā* as *praśaṃsā-vacanam*. Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa quotes a definition of Vārttā: *anāmaya-priyālāpo varti vārttā ca kathyate*, and explains it thus; *priyālāpe hi loka-prasiddha-vastvabhidhānam evocitam*. He further refers to another explanation of *vārttābhidhāneṣu* viz., *itihāsa-varṇaneṣu* i.e., legendary accounts. Bhāmaha uses the term *vārttā* in cases where *vakrokti* is absent, and it falls short even of Daṇḍin's *svabhāvokti*; it consists of such bald and matter of fact expressions as *gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ* etc. It is rejected by Bhāmaha as an *alaṃkāra*, and there is no indication for supposing that it is accepted by Daṇḍin, whose *svabhāvokti* too involves at least some amount of charm. So far as Daṇḍin's treatment is concerned, the meaning *anāmaya-priyālāpa* may well serve our purpose. The Varṇanā may be taken to mean *vastu-svarūpa-nirūpaṇa*, but even in that case it would be different from Daṇḍin's Svabhāvokti.[1] It must be noted here that though the illustrations of Kānti given by Daṇḍin are theoretically said to conform to general usage, they are yet tinged with a slight touch of exaggeration; but this is probably necessary for the sake of a certain heightened expression without which a dry *svarūpa-varṇanā* (such as involved in Bhāmaha's *vārttā*) might become an example of Kānti. It is thus a heightened expression in the shape of a slight exaggeration that makes Daṇḍin's *vārttā* fundamentally different from that of Bhāmaha.

The Gauḍas[2] however, are satisfied with exaggerated ideas transcending ordinary possibilities. These highly exaggerated descriptions are called *atyukti*, which, Taruṇavācaspati remarks, is not a blemish but an excellence pleasing the Gauḍas. The examples contain indeed highly exaggerated statements, since (i) the dust from the feet of a great man cannot really wash away the sins committed, and (2) to say that the creator created the aerial space as small, because he was mindful of the extensive expansion of the heroine's

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[1] Compare the illustrations in i, 87 and ii, 10.

[2] We would accept the order of verses as in the text in the Bombay and Calcutta editions (i.e., place i, 91 of the Madras edition immediately after i, 87 and not after i, 90).

[3] In i, 88 the Vidagdha is a reference to the Gauḍas, implying a certain love of learned display, as opposed to the general simplicity aimed at by the Vaidarbhas.

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breasts is certainly a flattering but an excessive statement. This is not merely a heightened expression, but indicates a preference for the exaggerated and the unnatural. Yet the Gauḍas are said to make much of such descriptions, and this is really due to the difference of ideals aimed at in the two types of poetry.

(10) SAMĀDHI. It consists in the transference of the qualities of one thing to another. The transference may be manifold, and five different cases are distinguished by Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla in his commentary on Vāmana iv, 3, 8, viz., *abhidheya-sambandha*, *sādṛśya*, *samavāya*, *vaiparītya* and *kriyā-yoga*. But Daṇḍin speaks of three cases: (i) superimposition (*adhyāsa*) of the action of one object on another, (ii) transference of the original sense of a word, which may not in itself be very pleasing (e.g. spitting, vomitting, etc), to a secondary sense for the sake of some pleasing effect, and (iii) simultaneous super-imposition of many qualities.

It is worthy of note that since transference is at the root of this particular *guṇa*, it is very difficult to distinguish it from poetic figures like *rūpaka* etc. which also are based on similar transference of an object or its functions to another object. As suggested by S. K. De, the distinction may be explained by supposing "that in the *guṇa* there is a transference only of the qualities or actions of one thing to another while in the *alaṃkāra* either one *dharmin* itself is substituted for another, or the new *dharma* entirely supplants the existing *dharma*." "But the process of poetic transference" he goes on, "is essentially a mode of figurative expression, resting finally on *lakṣaṇā*, and Vāmana would (partially) regard Daṇḍin's definition of the *samādhi-guṇa* as constituting the figure *vakrokti*, which, in his opinion, consists in a similar transference based on resemblance".

This excellence is said to be followed by all poets, by which Daṇḍin probably means that it is accepted in both types of poetry, Vaidarbha and Gauḍa. But he may also imply that such a mode of figurative expression is the basis of all poetic expression, and no poet (whatever be his ideal of poetry) can do without it.

From the above sketch it will be clear that in spite of Daṇḍin's professed partiality for the Vaidarbha-mārga, he gives the Gauḍa its due recognition as a mārga of a different type, which might not have been totally acceptable to himself, but which must have had an established tradition of its own, differing in many respects from the widely preferred Vaidarbha. To him the Vaidarbha represents the mode of the standard good kāvya, but he also accepts Gauḍa as a Mārga. If the fixed excellences are required to be essential in standard good poetry, the Gauḍa does contain some five or six of them. The *samādhi* and *udāratā* are accepted in both the Māргas. The *neyatva* and *grāmyatva* as defects of poetry are rejected by both; and as a corollary, both cherish an equal amount of regard for *arthavyakti* and *artha-mādhurya* which consist in the avoidance of these faults. The *śabda-mādhurya* consisting of alliteration finds a place in both these types—only the ideas about alliteration differ. Hemacandra finds *vāg-rasa* (or *śabda-mādhurya*) in *śrutyanuprāsa* and *varṇānuprāsa* which are accepted in Daṇḍin's opinion, by the Vaidarbhas and the Gauḍas[1] respectively. The *ojas* is accepted by both, with this difference that it is the *sine qua non* of the Gauḍa-mārga where it is indiscriminately practised, but the Vaidarbhas use it with some restrictions. Of the three kinds of *sambandhas* the Vaidarbhas practise only the mixed or middle type, the other two extreme types, viz., *mṛdu* and *sphuṭa* being practised by the Gauḍas. Hence the latter do not accept *vaiṣamya* on principle, but if it is sometimes found in their composition we are to understand that it is there for the purpose of attaining a different ideal. Similarly, if the Gauḍa deviates from other excellences prescribed for the Vaidarbha as the standard good composition, it is done for the achievement of the same purpose, viz., for attaining a different poetic standard, which had independently developed even long before Daṇḍin expounded his theory.

Judging independently, the treatment of Daṇḍin's Guṇas does not seem to be quite clear and consistent. Some of his Guṇas are somewhat obscure in their conception or definition. "The definition of *udāratā*" remarks S. K. De "is rather vague, so also is that of *kānti*, in both of which Daṇḍin apparently admits subjective valuations not clearly indicated." The distinction between certain Guṇas is again too subtle (e.g. *śleṣa* and *sukumāratā*, *kānti* and *udāratā*). The ten excellences shown above, having been described as the *life breath of a standard diction*, it is natural to expect that they would all present a positive aspect and should not be defined in negative terms. But in the case of certain Guṇas, viz., *artha-vyakti* and *artha-mādhurya*, the fault to be avoided is first characterised, wherefrom the character of the corresponding Guṇa is to be comprehended by implication. Thus, so far as these two excellences are concerned they are negatively conceived (while others present a definite positive meaning) and consequently give rise to a lack of uniformity in Daṇḍin's conception of the Guṇas.

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[1] *Śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyāṃ vāg-rasaḥ* (p. 198, N. S. P. Edn.).

We have already noticed that the splitting up of each Guṇa as relating to śabda or to artha respectively did not, as a theory, develop till the time of Vāmana. For the first time Vāmana offers us such a standard for distinction (viz., *āśrayāśrayi-bhāva*) which was later on utilised by writers like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa who added a third variety of Guṇa, namely, the Guṇa appertaining to both the word and the sense. Daṇḍin, like Bharata, is not explicit on this distinction. Now that this standard of distinction came to be definitely established since Vāmana's time up to the systematic development of the Rasa-dhvani theory, we can apply it to ascertain whether the Guṇas as characterised by Bharata and Daṇḍin can be taken as belonging to the word or to the sense or to both. This procedure leads us to conclude that Daṇḍin's *śleṣa samatā*, *ojas* and *sukumāratā* are prominently what are called *śabda-guṇas*; his *prasāda*, *arthavyakti*, *udāratā*, *kānti* and *samādhi* belong to *artha*, whereas his *mādhurya* has an implication of both *śabda* and *artha*. The two-fold aspect which Daṇḍin imparts to his *mādhurya* is a more direct evidence justifying the conclusion that this is a Guṇa having a double character. Vāmana's was an original move on this direction, and with the eye of a novel theorist he read a new aspect in the Guṇas of his predecessors from which he shaped a system of his own. What was naively treated in the works of Bharata and Daṇḍin received a systematic development at the hands of this earliest known expounder of the Rīti school, properly so called.[1]

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI

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[1] I am indebted to Dr. S. K. De for helping me in diverse ways in the writing of this article.

Origin of Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya Theory

We have seen[1] that the theory of identity of Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya finds no support in any of the inscriptions, literary works or traditional narratives either of the contemporary period or of even later times down to the end of the 17th century. On the contrary, we find the testimony of the above sources distinctly hostile to the theory. How then did the theory arise and when ?

Now the earliest inscriptions relating to Vidyāraṇya are of the reign of Harihara II (1377-1404) and show him to be a spiritual guide of the king, and a few grants of land are recorded to have been made in his presence and by his orders to gods and Brahmins. Thus a copper-plate grant of the Sringeri Mutt of 1384 A.D. says, "By the grace of Vidyāraṇya-muni he acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings", (Mysore Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 58). Another copper-plate grant of the same Mutt of 1386 thus praises him : "The learned have come to the conclusion that Vidyāraṇya is the supreme light incarnate......The swan Bukka sports happily near the lotus Bhāratītīrtha......which expands by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya" (ibid., 58-9).[2] This record also refers to his death and the creation of an agrahāra named Vidyāraṇyapura near Sringeri in his memory by Harihara II. But none of them show any connection between him and the building of the capital city of the Vijayanagara empire and in fact in the first of the grants quoted above the capital is called Vijayanagara and not Vidyānagara. Nor is any political importance attached to him in these records. The earliest record on stone that connects him with the capital and Harihararāya is an inscription in the village Guṇṭanur (Chitaldroog Taluk 45, Ep. Carn. XI) of Ś. 1487 Raktākṣi Māgha śu. 15 Wednesday and lunar eclipse (January 16, 1565 A.D. is the equivalent of the tithi, but it is a Tuesday and no lunar eclipse occurred on the date) of the reign of Acyutarāya which refers to him as the king seated on the throne in Vidyānagarī built by Hariharamahārāya in the name of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda. (see also Challakere 51 of Ś. 1481). The story of Nuniz about the building of the capital by Deorao named after the sage Vydiajuna who directed him to choose the particular spot for the creation of the city is well-known and is of nearly the same period (1535-37).[1] But he is not described as connected with the establishment of Vijayanagara kingdom nor does he appear as a great author in any of the inscriptions or literary works for a long time. The earliest record (which is not clearly spurious like the Kapālapur plates etc. referred to in I.A., 38, p. 89-91) that gives Vidyāraṇya the credit for the establishment of Vijayanagara empire is a copper-plate at Sringeri (E. C. VI Śṛṅgeri 13) of Ś. 1574 Nandana Sam. Bhādra Śu. 15, Tuesday lunar eclipse = 7th September, 1652 A.D. of the reign of the Keḷadi chief Śivappanāyaka. By this time the Vijayanagara kingdom had become extinct. The inscription states that Vidyāraṇyamuni, the spiritual ancestor of the then pontiff of the Sringeri Mutt, Saccidānandabhāratī had created Vidyānagara (city) by the favour of god Virūpākṣa and the merit of tapas, and placed Harihara (I) on the throne and that out of gratitude Harihara created two agrahāras Śṛṅgapura aad Vidyāraṇyapura for the use of the pontifical seat set up by Śaṅkarācārya at Sringeri and bestowed them on Vidyāraṇya. Vidyāraṇya is also spoken of as Vedabhāṣya-pravartaka (promoter of the commentaries on the Vedas). The writer of the grant evidently tried to glorify Vidyāraṇya and he attributed to Harihara I not only the grant of Śṛṅgapura-agrahāra which was made by him for the use of Bhāratītīrtha (E. C., VI Śṛṅgeri), but even the creation of Vidyāraṇyapura-agrahāra which was the work of Harihara II and which was done after the death of Vidyāraṇya (see Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 59) was also attributed to Harihara I. Similarly it is Vidyātīrtha who must be considered as the chief promoter of the Vedic commentaries since he is praised by Sāyaṇa in the opening stanzas of his Vedic commentaries as one whose breath is the Vedas and in the concluding stanzas as a Maheśvara who might be pleased with his interpretation of the Veda. Of course there were other people who promoted or helped to bring about the commentaries such as Mādhava, the elder brother of Sāyaṇa, who delegated the work to him, kings Bukka I and Harihara II who ordered the production of the work, and several scholars like Paṇḍari-dīkṣita (Mys. Arch. Rep. 1908, p. 14) who might have helped in the interpretation of certain passages of the Vedas. Vidyāraṇya is nowhere praised as having had anything to do with the Vedic commentaries but the inscription attributes to him the credit due to Vidyātīrtha for the promotion of the Vedic commentaries.

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[1] See I.H.Q., vol. VI, no. 4, pp. 701-717.

[2] Another record of the same Mutt of 1382 A.D. (ibid., p. 57) tells us that some time after 1356 A.D. king Bukka wrote a letter to Vidyāraṇya who was at Benares asking him to return to Vijayanagara.

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[1] Vijayanagara, "the city of victory", is sometimes called Vidyānagara, "the city of learning". The first syllable of this word occurs [illegible] in the names Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāraṇya.

But even here Vidyāraṇya is not spoken of as the author of Vedabhāṣya but only as its promoter. But in Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna composed after the extinction of the Vijayanagara kingdom (circa 1664) and before the compilation of Śivatattvaratnākara (1709) Sāyaṇa and Mādhava are said to be nominal authors of the works named after them while to Vidyāraṇya comes the real credit of composing them. The work Guruvaṃśa of the 18th century A.D. follows this but ascribes to Vidyāraṇya the sole authorship of Vedabhāṣya and the other works in the name of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa are stated to be written by them practically to his dictation.[1] The succession list or Gurupīḷige in the Sringeri Mutt also agrees with the above as regards Vedabhāṣya. Another small work containing the praise of Vidyāraṇya and composed in recent times is Vidyāraṇyāṣṭottara-śatanāmāvaḷi which contains the praises of Vidyāraṇya as a great yogin that revived Vijayanagara city, created a shower of gold in Hampe and wrote a commentary on the three Vedas, lord of the Karnāṭaka throne, anointer of Bukka as king, writer of commentaries on all the Upaniṣads and the obtainer of birudas including the cross palankin (Avadhani's Vidyāraṇya, Telugu work, pp. 180-83).

Thus we can see that from the inspirer of Vedabhāṣya, Vidyāraṇya began to be looked upon as its sole author and all the works of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava were pointed out as written by them under his instructions or composed by him in their name. The creation of the city of Vijayanagara, the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagara with the rain of gold obtained by his mystic power and the setting up of Harihara I and of Bukka I on the throne were also attributed to him but he was kept quite distinct from Mādhava.

Once this glorification of Vidyāraṇya began, not only were the works of Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyaṇācārya fathered upon him (against the internal evidence of the works themselves), but he was also identified with Mādhavācārya, the elder of the brothers. Thus Maṇimañjarībhedinī, a sanskrit poem of modern times written to extol the Sringeri Mutt and Vidyāraṇya and as a rejoinder to the hostile attacks of the Mādhva sect (the founder of which is called in the work an incarnation of anger and for which belief it quotes Kedārakhaṇḍa) identifies Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya before he became an ascetic. In this work Mādhava is described as a poor man unable to marry on account of his indigence. He prayed to goddess Lakṣmī for wealth and was promised that he would get it in his next birth. This was interpreted to mean sannyāsa. Mādhava took sannyāsa from Bhāratīkṛṣṇatīrtha and was named Vidyāraṇya. After becoming a sannyāsin he composed the commentaries on all the Vedas. Before this he had written a treatise on Dharmaśāstra, two vṛttis on all the sūtras, Saṅgatiratnamālā and others not named (VI, 10). The story of the raining of gold and setting up the king (whom it wrongly calls Acyuta (VI, 50 & 53) on the throne of Karṇāṭaka and the building of Vidyānagarī city are next described. Then comes the disputation between Vidyāraṇya and Akṣobhyatīrtha, a guru of the Mādhva sect, Vedāntadeśika of the Rāmānuja sect acting as arbitrator. Vidyāraṇya is described as victorious. No date is given in the work nor is the genealogy of the author described. The author calls himself a Paramahaṃsa-parivrājakācārya and is named Rāmayogin. Because of the ignorance and confusion displayed in the work as regards king Acyuta whom it calls the founder of the Karṇāṭakarājya, the work seems to have been written long after the Vijayanagar empire came to an end and the author's attacks on the Mādhva sect tend to show that he was writing at a time when that sect was all-powerful in Karnāṭaka. It is probable that it was composed at the time of Pūrṇaiya, the Dewan of Mysore State (1799-1812), who was a follower of Mādhva sect.

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[1] See the Introduction to Guruvaṃśa published in Srirangam Series.

The confusion of Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya is clearly seen in the work Maṇimañjarībhedinī; but in his attempt to glorify Vidyāraṇya the writer states that Vedabhāṣya was composed by Mādhavācārya after he became a sannyāsī under the new name Vidyāraṇya, though the other works, namely, Dharmaśāstra, evidently, Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā etc., are said to have been written by him after sannyāsa; but the statement is directly opposed to the evidence of the vedic commentaries where Sāyaṇa appears as the author and the name Vidyāraṇya does not occur and Mādhava appears as a minister or scholar at the bidding of king Bukka. We must also note that Mādhavācārya is described in the work as one who never entered the married state while he is shown as a performer of sacrifices in the works of his brother and of himself[1], which is only possible in the case of a married man. Further, Agrahāra Bāceyahaḷḷi plates (published in Mys. Arch. Rep. 1915 p. 42) of 1377 refer to Māyaṇṇa, son of Mādhavācārya. Śivatattvaratnākara too describes Mādhava as having several sons and grandsons. Hence the statements made in Maṇimañjarībhedinī are opposed both to the evidence furnished by inscriptions and literary works and even tradition, and the work deserves to be rejected as entirely worthless.

This process of ascribing to Vidyāraṇya not only the establishment of the Vijayanagara kingdom but the authorship of all the works of Mādhava reaches its culmination in the Anegondi Bakhire, purporting to be a history of Vijayanagara (Ānegondi) kings, in the possession of the *purohita* of the late Rājā of Ānegondi and noticed in p. 16 of the Telugu work Vidyāraṇyacaritramu by Avadhāni. Here Vidyāraṇya is said to have built the city of Vijayanagara named Vidyānagara in Ś. 1258 and to have sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom for 26 years and left in Ś. 1284 (1362 A.D.) placing Bukka on the throne and died in the year Yuva. Vidyāraṇya is described as Mādhavabhaṭṭa before he became an ascetic in Ś. 1244 and as having composed the works Parāśaramādhavīya, Kālamādhavīya, Vidyāmādhavīya, Nidānamādhavīya and a commentary on the three Vedas. Thus Vidyāraṇya is not only identified with Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇa, but also with other Mādhavas, among whom is Vidyāmādhava, son of Nārāyaṇapūjyapāda of Vasiṣṭhagotra who composed Vidyāmādhavīya (an astronomical work published in the Mysore Oriental Library Series) and also Mādhava, son of Indukara, the author of the medical work Mādhavanidāna of the 16th century A.D. Evidently the Bakhire is a modern production embodying conflicting traditions of doubtful value.

Some of the modern writers and editors have gone one step further still in confusing Vidyāraṇya with Mādhava, author of Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha and Mādhavāmātya, author of Tātparyadīpikā without even a traditional basis. In the introductory stanzas of the first

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[1] *Op. cit.*

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of these viz., Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha we find it distinctly stated that its author Sāyaṇa-Mādhava is a Kaustubha jewel to the Milky ocean, Sāyaṇa and can never be confused with the elder Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇa. Nor is there any evidence traditional or literary[1] to identify him with Vidyāraṇya. As regards Mādhavāmātya we know from inscriptions that he was the governor of Candragutti and Banavase from 1347 (Ep. Carn. VIII Sorab 375) to 1391 A.D. and that he captured Goa from the Turks. Now Vidyāraṇya was already an ascetic and the head of the Sringeri Mutt in 1377-78 (E.C. VI Koppa 19 & 31) and could not therefore have been governing Candragutti and fighting with the Turks during the period. Further Vidyāraṇya was dead in 1386 A.D. according to the second Sringeri Mutt copper-plate (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, page 59). Mādhavāmātya was of Āṅgirasa-gotra and son of the Brahmin Chāvuṇḍa and a staunch Śaiva, being a disciple of the Śaiva priest Kriyāśakti (E.C. VII Shikarpur 281), while Mādhavācārya was of Bhāradvājagotra and son of Māyaṇa and a disciple of Vidyātīrtha and of Bhāratītīrtha as acknowledged in his works. Further the Śṛṅgeri Kaḍita and Guruvaṃśa distinctly describe Mādhavāmātya as distinct from Vidyāraṇya (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 58; Guruvaṃśa, VII, 23). The question has been very ably discussed by Mr. Narasimhachar in his article in the Indian Antiquary for 1916 and he has proved convincingly that Mādhavāmātya is quite different from Vidyāraṇya.

We may also notice here the tradition regarding the Śaṅkarācārya Mat or Kañcha Kāmakoṭi pīṭha now located in Kumbakonam, Tanjore District in the south. The earliest work giving an account of its gurus is a Sanskrit poem Puṇyaślokamañjarī by Sarvajanasadāśivabodha, 56th pontiff of the mutt (1524 to 1539). Here we are told that the yati Vidyātīrtha, disciple of Candracūḍa, ruled in Kāñcī mutt for 73 years from 1297 to 1370 and retired to the Himālayas with his disciple Śaṅkarānanda, where he died in 1385 A.D. He is said to have been surrounded and revered by Mādhava, Bukka and Bhāratītīrtha and to have set up 8 gurus to look after his mutt during the absence of Śaṅkarānanda and himself in the Himālayas.[2] No mention is made of Vidyāraṇya. The name given to Vidyātīrtha before he became a sannyāsin is Sarvajñaviṣṇu, son of Śāraṅgapāṇi of Bilvāraṇya and his guru Candracūḍa is called Gaṅgeśa before sannyāsa. The next work of the mutt regarding the subject is Gururatnamālikā by Sadāśivabrahmendra, co-disciple of Ātmabodhendra (1586 to 1638), 58th pontiff of the mutt. From this we learn that Vidyātīrtha was the teacher of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava and was skilled in disputations.[1] No mention is made of Vidyāraṇya here also ; nor is he identified with Mādhavācārya.

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[1] The only exception is the commentary Suṣamā of 1720 A.D. to be noticed later in this paper.

[2] श्रीमन्माधवबूक्कभारतियतिप्रष्ठैर्महिष्ठैर्वृतः ॥ ८९

But a later production regarding the gurus of the Kañcī mutt named Suṣamā composed in 1720 as a commentary to the above Gururatnamālikā speaks of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava as the composer (kartṛ) and the reviser (pariṣkartṛ) of Vedabhāṣya and Vidyātīrtha as their guru praised in Vedabhāṣya and in Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara respectively. As regards Bhāratītīrtha, it is stated that he was also a disciple of Vidyātīrtha and in his work Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā Vidyātīrtha is invoked in the opening verse. Bhāratītīrtha is represented in Suṣamā as also a guru of Mādhava, the order of seniority among his gurus being Jāhnavītīrtha (Gaṅgeśa alias Candracūḍa), Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratītīrtha as stated in the opening stanza of Parāśaravyākhyā. With regard to Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, the author of Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha who invokes Sarvajñaviṣṇu in the introductory verses of his work, the commentator (the author of Suṣamā) tries to explain the name Sāyaṇa as the name of a family and Sāyaṇa-Mādhava as Mādhava born in the family of Sāyaṇa. The praise of Śaṅkarānanda by Vidyāraṇya in Pañcadaśī and Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha is explained by saying that Śaṅkarānanda, disciple of Vidyātīrtha, was a senior class-mate and a junior guru of Mādhavācārya who is here identified with Vidyāraṇya, the chief guru being Vidyātīrtha. It is further stated that Mādhava was given the name Vidyāraṇya by Śaṅkarānanda and that with eight of his co-disciples including Saccidānanda he set up eight mutts and himself stopped at the mutt near Virūpākṣeśvara on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā to stem the growing tide of the Mādhva religion (see the commentary under stanza 76).

In the next stanza giving the names of the co-disciples of Vidyāraṇya, viz., Saccidānanda, Advaita Brahmānanda etc., the commentator tells that one of the disciples of Vidyātīrtha who was placed

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[1] हृदि सायणमाधवोपदेष्टॄन् मदिनां वादविधौ शमप्रदेष्टॄन् । नमत श्रुतिशीलनादतन्द्रान्भुवि विद्याधिकतीर्थदेशिकेन्द्रान् ॥ ८५ ॥

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in charge of Sringeri mutt was Advaita Brahmānanda alias Ānandātman also called Bhāratītīrtha and quotes a stanza from Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣaddīpikā of Śaṅkarānanda in which he praises after Vidyātīrtha, his disciple Advayabrahmānanda calling him also Bhāratyānanda stating that he lived at Virūpākṣa (Hampe) and set up eight mutts appointing as their heads Mādhava and others to combat the Dvaita religion. We next learn from the commentary Suṣamā that seeing the Sringeri mutt in ruins for 800 years after the 11th guru beginning from Śaṅkara, and the Śaiva and Mādhva religions growing powerful, Vidyāraṇya is stated to have defeated Akṣobhya and receiving sannyāsa from Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkarānanda, set up his co-disciples Saccidānanda and others in eight places in the Karṇāṭaka including Sringeri in newly established mutts and himself stopped at a mutt in Virūpākṣakṣetra (Hampe) where he remained as minister and that he issued bulls with the seal of Vidyāśaṅkara (combined name of Vidyātīrtha and Śaṅkarānanda) and that king Vīrabukka and the succeeding kings of Vijayanagara, respected in spite of the proximity of the newly set up mutt in their own capital, the pontiffs of Kāñcī mutt as *jagadgurus* (world teachers) and granted them lands as mentioned in copper-plate śāsanas of Vīra-Narasiṃha Kṛṣṇarāya etc. in that mutt (see also Venkataraman's Śaṅkarācārya and his successors in Kāñcī).

It will be seen from a study of the above that the early tradition of Kāñcī mutt refers to Mādhavācārya, Sāyaṇa, Bukka and Bhāratītīrtha as disciples of Vidyātīrtha, a fact which is already known to us from the works and inscriptions relating to them. It is to be observed that no mention is made here of Vidyāraṇya or of his mistaken identity with Mādhavācārya. The later tradition of the mutt represented by the commentary Suṣamā of the 18th century tells us that Sringeri mutt was in ruins for a long time until it was revived by Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya under the orders of their guru Vidyātīrtha, pontiff of the Kāñcī mutt and of Śaṅkarānanda and that eight other branch mutts of Kāñcī were also set up with the disciples of Vidyātīrtha presiding over them, including the mutt at Hampe where Vidyāraṇya is said to have resided. But the Kāñcī tradition cannot be relied upon except for contemporary events. It is no doubt true that there is no inscriptional evidence to prove the existence of Sringeri mutt before the 14th century A.D. But the same can be said of the Kāñcī mutt. There is no proof that Vidyātīrtha belonged to the Kāñcī mutt. The Vāgīśvarī Gaṇapati temple inscription at Sringeri of 1356 A.D. (Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916, p. 56) refers to the visit of king Bukka to Sringeri to pay his respects to Vidyātīrtha and to the gift of some lands for the expenses of his mutt. The other copper-plate grants that eulogise Vidyātīrtha and his intimate relations with Bukka are found to belong to Sringeri or places not far from Sringeri. Neither Kāñcī nor its neighbourhood has produced so far any inscription on stone or copper relating to Vidyātīrtha. The list of the pontiffs of this mutt prior to Vidyātīrtha given in Puṇyaślokamañjarī and other records of the mutt appears to contain the names of many of the rulers or ministers of Kashmir taken from Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (12th century). It is too much to believe that the pontiffs of the mutt were connected with the rulers of Kashmir or that their influence extended so far off. As for Suṣamā, it merely reproduces the mistaken tradition of the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhava and exaggerates the importance of the Kāñcī mutt at the expense of Sringeri and other mutts in Southern India. Naturally the writer's statements are full of inconsistencies and errors. Thus he tells us in one place that the statement made in some works that Vidyāśaṅkara is the same as Vidyātīrtha praised by Sāyaṇa etc., is quite wrong as Sāyaṇa was not wanting in vocabulary.[1] But elsewhere while trying to attribute to Vidyātīrtha, the connection with the seal of Vidyāśaṅkara found in the Sringeri mutt (in honour of god Vidyāśaṅkara, the liṅga set up in memory of Vidyātīrtha in the samādhi-temple at Sringeri known as Vidyāśaṅkara temple) he is ready to say that Vidyāśaṅkara, Vidyātīrtha and Vidyānātha are one and the same.[2] Similarly in trying to identify Vidyāraṇya with the author of Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha he says that the name of the author Sāyaṇa-Mādhava simply means Mādhava born of Sāyaṇa family.[3] Now we know that this work was composed very late in the reign of Bukka II as it refers to the work of Jayatīrtha (circa 1365-88). How could the author (if he is to be equated with Vidyāraṇya) call himself in his old age by the name he had before sannyāsa and call his guru Vidyātīrtha also in the same way by the name he had before sannyāsa? Neither Mādhavācārya nor Sāyaṇācārya ever refers to Sāyaṇa as a family name in any one of their works. Surely such an important detail could not have been left out by Sāyaṇa in his Alaṅkārasudhānidhi nor has any writer referred to Mādhavācārya the elder as Sāyaṇa-Mādhava. What were the 8 mutts established by Vidyāraṇya (or Bhāratītīrtha?) under Śaṅkarānanda's orders and when did they ever acknowledge the Kāñcī pontiff as their founder? The Kāñcī mutt has not a single record of the Vijayanagara kings till the reign of Vīra Narasiṃha, more than 150 years after the establishment of the kingdom. Moreover, the statement that Vidyāraṇya received sannyāsa from Vidyātīrtha and not from Bhāratītīrtha is opposed to what is given in Maṇimañjarībhedinī. Neither the Sringeri nor Keḷadi tradition nor Maṇimañjarībhedinī ever refers to any connection between Vidyāraṇya or Vidyātīrtha with Kāñcī mutt. We may therefore dismiss this later tradition of Kāñcī mutt as a mere glorification of Vidyāraṇya in such a manner as to bring greater glory to Kāñcī mutt whose pontiff Vidyātīrtha is represented as his guru.

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[1] यदुच्यते विद्याशंकरविजयकारादिभिर्विद्याशंकरिकैर्विद्याशंकर एव विद्यातीर्थशब्दवाच्य इति तदसमञ्जसं विद्यातीर्थपदेनैव सर्वत्र सायणमाधवेन व्यवहृतत्वात् वेदभाष्यपरिष्कर्तुरनर्गलवाग्विलासस्य चतस्य वाग्दारिद्र्यकल्पनानौचित्याच्च ॥

[2] ग्रन्थान्तरेष्वपि विद्येशविद्यानाथविद्यातीर्थसर्वज्ञविष्णुविद्याशंकरादिपदानि प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तैक्यमभिन्नवाप्युक्त इत्यलमतिमहतोपन्यासेन ॥

[3] प्रभाविमर्शिनीकारास्तु सायण इति सद्वंशनाम तदुक्तं तेनैव माधवेन स्वकृतौ सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे यथा "श्रीमत्सायणदुग्धाब्धिकौस्तुभेन विपश्चिता। क्रियते माधवार्येण सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहः ॥" इति सायणमाधवस्य सायणकुलोद्भूतमाधवाभिधानस्य इति व्याचख्युः ॥ Elsewhere in the same page Suṣamā explains the phrase as meaning Sāyaṇa and Mādhava.

It is thus clear that in trying to eulogise Vidyāraṇya and his work, political and literary, his admirers naturally gave him the credit for the authorship of some of the best literary works of his period which were composed by Sāyaṇācārya and his elder brother Mādhavācārya. Most of such narratives were composed towards the close of the 17th century. Some of the writers of the 18th and 19th centuries have gone one step further and boldly identified him with Mādhavācārya.[1] Modern editors and writers have in many cases ascribed the writings of other Mādhavas of the period to Vidyāraṇya and identified him with them all.

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[1] Thus Keḷadinṛpavijaya by Liṅgaṇṇa written towards the close of the 18th century and Bhuvanapradīpikā of 1808 of Rāmakṛṣṇa, both of Mysore State, speak of Mādhavabhaṭṭa or Mādhavārya becoming a sannyāsin under the name of Vidyāraṇya.

Arguments for the identification of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya answered

What then are the reasons advanced by scholars in support of the identification assumed between Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya ?

(1) In a copper-plate grant (Inam office copper-plate grant noticed in Mys. Arch. Rep. 1908, p. 14) dated 1386 A.D. (Ś. 1308 Kṣaya Sam. Dvitīyāṣāḍha śu 2 Tuesday, Karkaṭakasaṅkrānti day) a grant of lands is recorded to have been made by Harihara II in lieu of a money grant bestowed previously in the year Durmati by the prince Cikkarāya of Āraga to Nārāyaṇa-vājapeyāyājin, Narahari-somayājin and Paṇḍari-Dīkṣita, promoters of the commentary on the four vedas (Catur-veda-bhāṣya-pravartaka). The new grant is stated to have been made by the king in the presence of Paramahaṃsa-parivrājakācārya Vidyāraṇya. From this it is argued that "Mādhavācārya had a great deal to do with the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas and it is likely that the grant was made at his instance to the above scholars for their co-operation in writing these monumental works. If Vidyāraṇya had been a different person altogether, there would have been no necessity to make the grant in his presence. This inscription makes it quite clear that Mādhavācārya was a sannyāsin under the name of Vidyāraṇya in A.D. 1386" (Indian Antiquary, 1916, p. 19).

Unfortunately for the above argument the dating of the grant is irregular as the tithi quoted falls on a Thursday (June 28, 1386 A.D.) and not on Tuesday as stated in the grant and moreover we find that in another copper-plate grant of 1386 (noticed in Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 59) Vidyāraṇya is said to have died previous to that date, viz., in Ś. 1309 Kṣaya sam. Jyesh. ba. 13th Saturday corresponding to May 26, 1386 A.D. (a Saturday if we take the year Kṣaya, Ś. 1308, as correct). Thus the genuineness of the grant is doubtful. Further, the mere mention of a grant made to certain vedic scholars (who might have helped in the interpretation of certain passages and been thus called promoters of the vedic commentaries) in the presence of Vidyāraṇya does not prove that he was the author or promoter of the vedic commentaries. The presence of the guru was availed of to give additional sanctity to the gift made by the king. Moreover the grant recorded in the śāsana was not a new one but merely consisted of a gift of lands in lieu of a grant of money made previously by a scion of the royal family. There are also several other inscriptions (E. C. VI Koppa 19 of 1378 ? E. C. VI Koppa 30 of 1378). in which lands are recorded to have been granted to certain individuals or temples in the presence of or under the orders of Vidyāraṇya. In these cases a similar identity or motive should have to be accepted. It is quite possible that the donees in the Inam office grant were the disciples of Vidyāraṇya and a grant of land was made to them in appreciation of their services in the cause of Vedic learning by the king in the presence of their guru. This seems to be the most natural interpretation. Anyway there is no ground for concluding from the evidence of the above grant that Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya were one and the same person.

2. The second argument used to support the theory of identity rests upon the evidence of a work on Telugu grammar known as Ahobalīya by Ahobalapaṇḍita said to be a nephew of a Mādhavācārya. Now in this work we find a stanza in which Vidyāraṇya is praised as the author of the Veda-bhāṣya, and Dhātuvṛtti, and the bestower of kingship on Harihara in Vidyānagarī and master of the goddesses of learning and of wealth. From this it is concluded that Mādhavācārya is Vidyāraṇya. (Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 18).

But it has been distinctly stated in the works Vedabhāṣya and Dhātuvṛtti that Sāyaṇa was their author and Mādhavīya was a name given by him to these works (see also p. 711, vol. VI, I.H.Q.). Hence on the authority of this stanza it is Sāyaṇa that has to be identified with Vidyāraṇya. The testimony of the work, however, has to be rejected as worthless as it belongs to a recent date, and is based on a legend which glorifies Vidyāraṇya by fathering on him the achievements and writings of others. Ahobalapaṇḍita was not a relation of the famous Mādhavācārya, because his work purports to be a review of Kākanūri Appakavi's Telugu commentary on grammar called Appakavīyam the date of which is Ś. 1578 (gaja-śaila-śara-sudhākara) or A.D. 1656 and hence could not be a contemporary or relation of our Mādhavācārya.[1] His work may have been composed in about 1700 A.D. and cannot therefore carry any authority for its statements regarding Vidyāraṇya.

3. Similarly two more works are cited to prove the identity of Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya, viz. Tithipradīpikā by Nṛsiṃhasūri,

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[1] For this information I am indebted to Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantalu.

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and Vyāsasūtravṛtti by Raṅganātha. The first of these has introductory stanzas which mean that the author deals briefly with the subject of *Kālanirṇaya*, or determining of proper moments for ceremonies, which had been dealt with but not exhausted by the previous writers, Anantācārya, Mancigallu-mantri, Vidyāraṇya-yati and others. Now it is well known that Kālanirṇaya, which treats of the above subject, was a work of Mādhavācārya and hence it is argued that he must be the same as Vidyāraṇya. But it may be answered that there was at least one other treatise on the same subject in the reign of Bukka I, viz. Vidyāmādhavīya (known as Muhūrtadarśana) written by a Śaiva Brāhmin of the village Gunavati near Goa and son of Nārāyaṇa-Pūjyapāda of Vaśiṣṭha-gotra. We do not see why there should not be another work on the same subject by Vidyāraṇya during the period. If so it would be unnecessary to identify him with Mādhavācārya, author of the Kālanirṇaya. Moreover, the work Tithipradīpikā by Narasiṃhasūri seems to be a modern work since it refers to Saṅgrahakālanirṇaya, Jayantīkalpa, and Tithidarpaṇa of Mañcibhaṭṭa, Karmapradīpikā, Kanakagṛhya and Puṣkarapurāṇa etc. He calls himself a disciple of Śivarāmānanda, a sanyāsī. The testimony of this work is of little value since it is not dated and appears to be of later times.

The next work quoted in support of the theory of identity of Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya is Raṅganātha's Vyāsasūtravṛtti. In an introductory stanza of this work it is stated that the meaning of Vyāsasūtras (Vedānta sūtras) had been explained according to the Bhāṣya (of Śaṅkarācārya) in the verses of Vidyāraṇya and the writings of Nṛsiṃhāśramin. From this it is contended that the reference here (regarding the verses of Vidyāraṇya) is clearly to Mādhavācārya's work Vaiyāsika-nyāya-mālā. But Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā is the composition of Bhāratītīrtha and no manuscript or printed edition ever shows Vidyāraṇya as its author. Any resemblance that is seen between a few of the stanzas at the beginning of this work and those of Mādhavācārya's Jaiminīya-nyāyamālāvistara is evidently due to the fact that Mādhavācārya was a disciple of Bhāratītīrtha and copied down the verses found in his guru's work in his own treatise as he distinctly says in his introductory stanzas that he was highly favoured by Bhāratītīrtha. Moreover, Raṅganātha too is a modern writer since he refers to Nṛsiṃhāśrāmī, author of Advaitadīpikā, who was a contemporary of Appayadīkṣita (c. 1554-1626) who flourished at the end of 16th century (see the Introduction to Yādavābhyudaya, vol. II, Vanivilas Press, Srirangam) and his work does not indicate the relation between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya who lived several centuries earlier.

4. One more argument advanced to prove the identity between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya may be noticed here. "It is said that Pañcadaśīprakaraṇa was composed partly by Bhāratītīrtha and partly by Mādhavācārya. Rāmakṛṣṇa who has written a commentary on the work begins and ends his commentary with obeisance to Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya (in order). We may therefore presume that Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya are identical……Bhāratītīrtha was one of the gurus of Mādhavācārya and the juxtaposition of his and Vidyāraṇya's name may be taken to strengthen the above presumption." (Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 18).

But Mādhavācārya had nothing to do with the composition of Pañcadaśi. No edition of the work ever ascribed to him the authorship of the treatise nor is there any other authority for calling Mādhavācārya its author. The only difference of opinion that so far exists about the composition of the work lies in determining which portions were written by Vidyāraṇya and which by Bhāratītīrtha. In his edition of the work, Pītāmbarasvāmin mentions Rāmakṛṣṇa as his authority for assigning the first six chapters to Vidyāraṇyasvāmin and the remaining nine to Bhāratītīrtha. Rāmakṛṣṇa's reference is to be found in the opening lines of his gloss to the seventh chapter Tṛptidīpa "Tṛptidīpākhyam prakaraṇam ārabhamāṇaḥ Śrī Bhāratītīrtha-guruḥ" etc. Niścalasvāmī, on the other hand, in his Vṛttiprabhākara, gives it as undoubted *parampara* that Vidyāraṇya was the author of the first ten and Bhāratītīrtha of the other five chapters. (See Pandit of the Benares college: New series, vol. VIII, 1886, p. 505, note). As regards the relation between Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, the copper-plate grants of the mutt and kaḍita seem to show the latter as the senior (So also Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna series). But Maṇimañjarībhedinī and Ānegondi Bakhire would have us believe that Vidyāraṇya was the direct disciple of Bhāratītīrtha and the stone inscription of Śṛṅgerī (E.C. VI Śṛṅgerī 1) would also support such a belief. Anyway Rāmakṛṣṇa might have held the same idea. Moreover we must remember that beyond a verse in that work addressed in praise of Śaṅkarānanda there is no indication to determine its date. There are several gurus of the name of Vidyāraṇya. One such svāmī of the Śṛṅgerī Mutt who lived in 1515 A.D. is referred to in p. 18 of Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916. There is also a svāmī of the Kuḍali Mutt of Ś. 1591 whose guru is named Vidyāraṇya[1] and there are several gurus of the Āvani Mutt who are called by the name of Vidyāraṇya. It is not possible to determine who this Vidyāraṇya was that composed Pañcadaśī. But nothing however is to be found in the work of Pañcadaśī to support the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya.

Conclusion

It is now clear that Vidyāraṇya, the ascetic head of Śṛṅgerī Mutt, could not be the same person as Mādhavācārya, the minister of Bukka, and the writer of works on Dharmaśāstra and allied subjects. There is not a single inscription or literary work of the period which ever tries to connect the two. The tradition of the Śṛṅgerī mutt distinctly shows him to be different from Mādhavācārya. The only narratives or works which seem to point to a connection between the two are of later times which make hopeless confusion between Vidyāraṇya, Mādhavācārya, and Sāyaṇa. Their unreliability is patent from the gross ignorance of the colophons of the works and of the political history of the period displayed in them. Even these do not explicitly state that Vidyāraṇya's father was Māyaṇa or his brother was Sāyaṇa as is the case with Mādhavācārya. Modern writers have fallen into the same error and try somehow or other to show Vidyāraṇya as the author of all the works of Sāyaṇa, his brother Mādhava and other Mādhavas (one writer has even identified him with Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of thought in southern India).[2] The rejection of the theory of identity between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya and distinguishing the achievements of the great scholars who wrote under the early Vijayanagar kings, from those of each other would greatly help the proper understanding of the history of the period.

R. RAMA RAO

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[1] E.C. VII, Shimoga, 81.

[2] See History of India by Prothero and Satīśa Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship

Development of theistic devotionalism and inchoate sectarianism in the younger group of major Upaniṣads

as a result of a compromise between high speculation and popular faiths.

Fusion of races and cultures as a factor of popular faiths.

Our enquiry in the previous articles has indicated[1] that theistic tendencies, bordering on the devout, manifest themselves more or less throughout the whole course of Upaniṣadic speculation; but they emerge in a clear and definite form in some texts of the younger group of major Upaniṣads. This gradual evolution of the theistic sense resulted ultimately in the vivid conception of a personal god; and all the elements of the devotional attitude, which one of these Upaniṣads directly characterises as *bhakti*, centre round a somewhat inchoate sectarianism, which does not indeed reject the impersonal Ātman but identifies it with new great gods like Rudra-Śiva, derived partially from Brāhmaṇism and created partially by popular faith. This presumably indicates a compromise between the high speculation of the Upaniṣads which was never discredited and the popular faiths which now demanded recognition. It is indeed difficult to ascertain whether the beliefs and observances of the Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic religion was a matter of actual practice beyond a restricted circle. They must have, to a certain extent, filtered down to the common people; for their undoubted influence on the comparatively modern developments of Hinduism, as well as upon sects and cults, precludes any hypothesis of their having been the exclusive possession of a particular class or caste. But the common people must have had their peculiar faiths and practices, originating from independent sources and profoundly varied and modified by the cultural ideas of the Non-Aryan people in the Gangetic plain. We have as yet no means to determine the exact nature and extent of the influence which contact with Non-Aryan people exerted on the Aryan world; but it is now generally

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[1] See *IHQ*, vol. vi, 1930, pp. 496f. In the writing of this article I must renew my grateful acknowledgments to my Professor, Dr. S. K. De, who has taken the trouble not only of supervising and revising it but also of enriching it with some notes of his own. But the opinions expressed in the essay are my own.

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recognised that the fusion or absorption of races and cultures, which was apparently going on from Vedic times, must have been a potent factor in determining the general current of Indian thought and belief. The ancient popular records are lost or have not been preserved; but there can be no doubt, as recent research has amply established, that the so-called popular element, as distinguished from the hieratic, must have been a strange fusion of polygenous ideas. In course of time, however, a mutual reaction between the two, the popular and hieratic, was inevitable, and the barrier slowly broke down. An exclusive ritual and a highly philosophical creed had to be relaxed so far, even for their own self-existence, as to adopt deities and countenance practices to which heterodox popular religion inclined; while the mass of the people, having little time or interest in elaborate ritual and philosophical abstraction, allowed their larger religious emotions and sentiments to be recognised and re-interpreted by the intellectual aristocracy, and thereby obtain the stamp of orthodox authority.

Disruptive effect of popular faiths on orthodox creed and ritual.

Readjustment and reshaping of the older Śrauta religion, and enewal and re-interpretation of popurlar faiths.

Thus, about the time when the formal heresies, which came to a head in Buddhism and Jainism, were assailing the very core of the Śrauta religion, the orthodox ritual and creed were faced with the no less difficult task of remodelling themselves by assimilating and moulding the current beliefs and widespread religious practices of their new environment. These popular faiths, centring round the worship of Rudra-Śiva, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, were strongly marked by a tendency towards devotionalism which must have had a disintegrating and even disruptive effect on the older ceremonial or theosophic religion. All this led, on the one hand, to a practical codification of older tradition and stricter regulation of daily life and conduct in the Śrauta-, Gṛhya-, and Dharma-Sūtras; on the other hand, it resulted in a renewed and systematic philosophical activity, sometimes keeping more faithfully to the old Upaniṣadic spirit (Vedānta), but sometimes starting from a different point and diverging more widely (Sāṃkhya). But all this did not prove enough for preventing an entire reshaping of the older religion. Sectarian popular faiths had been gradually gaining ground, and they must have been more in rapport with ordinary life than the mystic ritual of the priest or the profound specula-

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tion of the philosopher. It is true that some of the Upaniṣads, if not the Brāhamaṇas, were in a way popular, or intended for a wider public ; but the inherited ritual and creed could be accepted only by the initiated, and generally speaking, they never seemed to have formed the actual faith of the people. The elasticity of orthodox philosophy, however, admitted a whole world of gods as a temporary reality into its idealistic scheme ; and the older placid theology, already disturbed by the newer worship of sectaries, had to readjust itself, even for its own prestige and continuance, to the changing order of things. A new (and yet not entirely new) feeling, the spirit of emotional religious devotion or *bhakti* as it came to be called, was gradually developing round new personal gods or old gods conceived anew as wielding power of love and grace ; and this, having already found its way into the heart, had to be justified also in the intellect. All this may not have been accomplished by any deliberate theological attempt, but the result of ultimate compromise is seen not only in the fully developed sectarianism of the *Mahābhārata* in general, but also in particular in the syncretic theism of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which cannot be satisfactorily explained as an isolated phenomenon.

The result of the compromise in the developed sectarianism of the Mahābhārata and in the syncretic philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā.

If there was a strain, original or developed, of theism in the Upaniṣads, it is only natural that it could in the end easily, if not perfectly, mingle with the best theistic elements of the popular cults. If the one was predominantly reflective and the other essentially emotional, both the theistic streams had their source in the same hopes and longings of the human heart ; and this fact could partially reconcile, if not fully obliterate, the incongruities of an alliance between philosophy and devotional faith.

Our sources of information about these obscure religious movements are, however, scanty and unsatisfactory. The problem of the origin and development of a religious movement is in itself a difficult one, but the difficulty is enhanced in this particular case by a hopeless insufficiency of historical data. Here and there we come across isolated facts or ideas, but the connecting links, sometimes stretching over centuries, have to be supplied by inferences from such meagre premises. We have to depend almost entirely on what is contained in the epic poetry, supplemented to a certain extent, by additional information from inscriptions and doubtful literary sources. It

Difficulties and defects of historical record.

Sectarian religions as the possession of people left no early records.

would be highly interesting indeed if it were possible to trace historically and consecutively the train of ideas whereby a formal or philosophical religion, living by ordinance and dogma, could adapt itself to the freedom and unconventionality of popular beliefs, which in their turn allowed themselves to be renewed and transformed. Apart from the general failure of sober historical material in India, the fact that sectarian religions, handed down by floating and indefinite tradition, were originally the possession of the people dissociated them from the sympathy of the orthodox creed[1]; and they received, until they could not be safely ignored, little recognition and justice, even if they swayed the lives of a larger population and had been of greater living force.

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[1] These popular faiths could not have been "anti-Brāhmaṇist" in the sense in which Grierson takes the term (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 252 and elsewhere); at best we can call them non-Brāhmaṇist or rather non-orthodox. There could not have been any sense of sharp antithesis, and their easy ultimate "Brāhmaṇisation" would in itself be a proof of their freedom from any direct antithetical attitude. Even Grierson's dubious theory of the Kṣatriya origin of one of these cults, if admitted, can hardly be adduced as a proof of its alleged anti-Brāhmaṇist tendency. There are passages indeed in the *Mahābhārata* (e.g. xii, 269, 9) which may be taken to indicate that the doctrine of Bhāgavatism was recognised as opposed to the pure teaching of the Vedas, but these probably bear testimony to the non-orthodox and popular character of the faith or its independent origin, and nothing more. It may be conceded that Bhāgavatism was not strictly Brāhmaṇic, and could not have been evolved within the fold of orthodoxy which clung to Vedic rites and Vedic gods. But, as Hopkins (*Ethics of India*, 1924, p. 172) rightly points out, it was also not anti-Brāhmaṇic, for it did not reject Brāhmaṇic authority and institution, as the Buddhists did. There is no open denunciation of the orthodox religion, but there is, on the other hand, a distinct anxiety for as much reconciliation as possible. The trend of the *Bhagavadgītā* itself would shew this. In the Nārāyaṇīya section also, the orthodoxy of the Nārāyaṇīya or Pañcarātra theology is insisted upon by the legend that the supreme scripture of this religion was uttered by the seven Citraśikhaṇḍin sages (Marīci, Atri etc.) and Manu Svāyambhuva, and was approved by Nārāyaṇa himself as according well with the four Vedas. There is also the legend of Nārada receiving at Śvetadvīpa the doctrine directly from Nārāyaṇa; while its conservatism is expressed

One of the most important sectarian movements referred to above is what is known as the cult of Viṣṇu, to which we shall confine our attention in this enquiry. H. Ray Choudhuri[1] is undoubtedly right in characterising Viṣṇuism, in its general acceptation, as a great federation of religions bound together by certain fundamental doctrines; but the earliest and the most important of its many phases is the worship of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, which forms the leading motive of the *Mahābhārata* in general and of the *Bhagavadgītā* in particular. But it is a long step indeed from the theistic speculation of the Upaniṣads to the full-blooded sectarianism of the great Epic.

The worship of Viṣṇu in the Epic.

Strictly speaking, this cult, as we find it developed in the Epic, is hardly yet known by the special appellation of Vaiṣṇavism,[2] but

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by its belief in *yajña*, *tapas* and other traits of the Śrauta religion. It would be a hasty generalisation also to state that certain characteristic features of the faith, like the Ahiṃsā doctrine, are proofs (as H. Ray Choudhuri in *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, Calcutta, 1920, p. vii, presumes) that "Bhāgavatism, like the religions of Mahāvīra and Buddha, was the expression of a natural reaction from the sacrifice-ridden religion of the Brāhmaṇic period". The superficial analogy suggested to Buddhism and Jainism (which though heterodox or heretical, can scarcely be described as popular) is misleading for more reasons than one; and Ray Choudhuri seems to have overlooked the fact that there was an intervening Upaniṣadic period in which the formal sacrificial religion of the Brāhmaṇas was being gradually replaced by a more intellectual theosophy, and that within this intellectual theosophy not only theistic but devotional tendencies were developing.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

[2] The word attaches itself peculiarly and prominently to the cult in the later phase of its history, but probably not so in its earlier; and there is scarcely any evidence of a Vaiṣṇava cult in early times. [The sectarian name Vaiṣṇava as a worshipper of Viṣṇu is to be found nearly at the end in the latest portion of the epic, but that only three times. In *Mbh.*, xviii, 6, 97, for instance, we are told:

Its different appellations, indicating many and varied sources.

is characterised by various names, not intrinsically connected with each other. This fact can be satisfactorily explained only by the supposition that sources of these names and therefore of the cult itself were many and varied. Although it identifies its deity apparently with the Vedic Viṣṇu, it is seldom directly called Vaiṣṇava ; and the Vedic Viṣṇu can hardly be recognised in the deity it worships. It is sometimes called the religion of the Bhāgavatas, the worshippers of Bhagavat, the Lord, the Blessed or the Adorable One,[1] its earliest religious text-book being the *Bhagavadgītā*. In

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aṣṭādaśa purāṇānāṃ śravaṇād yat phalaṃ bhavet /
tat phalaṃ samavāpnoti vaiṣṇavo nātra saṃśayaḥ //

The mention of the eighteen *purāṇas* raises a doubt as to the earliness of the passage. The other two passages occur in the same context and speak of *vaiṣṇavaṃ padam* (xviii, 6, 98 ; 6, 103) and *vaiṣṇavaṃ yaṣaḥ* (xviii, 6, 98) in the same strain. In some other passages the word is used more in the sense of "relating to or belonging to Viṣṇu" than "worshipping Viṣṇu". Thus, Duryodhana in one passage (iii, 254, 15-20) is advised to perform a *vaiṣṇava yajña* or sacrifice to Viṣṇu as a substitute for the Rājasūya. In the same way, Nārāyaṇa as Mahāpuruṣa advises the gods to perform a *vaiṣṇava kratu* (xii, 340, 55). Phrases like *vaiṣṇava astra*, *vaiṣṇava tejas*, or *vaiṣṇava sthāna* are common enough, but they have apparently no sectarian significance.—S. K. D.].

[1] Grierson (*JRAS*, 1910, pp. 159-162 ; "Bhakti-mārga" in *ERE.*, p. 539 ; also cf. A. Govindācārya Svāmin, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 861-62) derives the term *bhagavat* from root *bhaj* (to which the sense "to adore" is given) and connects it with *bhakti*, which is also derived from the same verbal root. The word *bhagavat*, in his opinion, mean "the Adorable One." V. V. Sovani (*JRAS*, 1910, pp. 863 f.) would derive the term (more accurately) from root *bhaj*, "to divide," "to share," but give to it the sense of "the possessor of all merit or quality," so that the word, in his opinion, could be best translated by the expression "the Perfect." F. Otto Schrader (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 194) would prefer the phrase "the Holy One." Hopkins after an elaborate review of the Vedic and Epic use of the term, would conclude (*JRAS*, 1911, pp. 727-38) that it would be best to retain the expression "the Blessed One," indicating the deity who is blessed with all good attributes and by implication blesses his devotee.

the somewhat mythical Nārāyaṇīya section (ch. 334-351) of the Śāntiparvan, again, the supreme god is named Nārāyaṇa or Hari, and

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From the point of view of the faith itself the etymological discussion is rather futile; for, to the devotee, the word expresses much more than its mere radical or historical meaning, and it is therefore untranslatable. It must be noted that the word is applied in the Epic, as elsewhere, to various gods and demi-gods, to priests, saints, and sages, possessing high merit, especially religious merit, as well as to the Supreme Being. It is also a familiar designation of the Buddha. Sometimes a mere form of polite address ("venerable sir"), the word has also the restricted connotation of reverence to the possessor of attributes, holy or divine; while in the derivative word *bhāgavata* its denotation is still more restricted to a particular divinity, whose name obviously (like that of the Buddha) was originally an epithet. Whether the word *bhagavat* has a direct connexion to the still earlier *bhaga*, the name of a Vedic deity, of which there are corresponding words in other Indo-European languages (see Schrader, *Reallexicon d. Indo-German. Alterth.* 2nd Ed. i, p. 406; *JRAS*, 1911, p. 194) is extremely doubtful; but it is most likely that the Vedic Bhaga was conceived, as his name would indicate, as the apportioner of good luck or giver of good things—a sense which apparently survives, probably through the radical connexion, in the word *bhagavat*. There is no justification for Macnicol's opinion (*Indian Theism*, p. 32) that the Bhagavat "traces his descent from the ancient Sun-god Bhaga, one of the Ādityas" except the accidental similarity of the name due to derivation from the same verbal root. Hopkins (*loc. cit.*) is perhaps right in suggesting that the word *bhaga* itself (apart from its being a proper name) means in Vedic "fortune" or "good luck" (root *bhaj*, to share), so that the original Vedic significance of the word *bhagavat* would be "one who is fortunate or blessed," without any strong religious implication. [The Vedic 'bhaga' is interpreted in the sense of *bhāgadheya* or 'good fortune' in *Nirukta* ix, 31, (cf. xii, 3; iii, 16 in the sense of sexual enjoyment); and the word is apparently derived from the root *bhaj*, 'to distribute,' 'to apportion' (i, 7), which is also implied in the name of the deity Bhaga as the distributor or the apportioner. The word *subhaga* in the sense of 'auspicious' is a common enough epithet of Vedic deities. The root does not occur in the list of 44 roots in *Nighaṇṭu* iii, 14, signifying Vedic worship, and it could not have meant 'to adore.' But it is noteworthy that the word is his unceremonious worship appears to be still bearing traces of the older sacrificial religion. The so-called Nārāyaṇīya system, though connected with Bhagavat and Vāsudeva, is said to have originated from Nārāyaṇa, who is indeed identified here with Hari, Viṣṇu, Hara and Kṛṣṇa (besides other gods), but to whom we have the earliest reference in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* as Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in connexion with the mythical performance of a *pañcarātra sattra* or series of sacrifices lasting over five days. Hence this system is sometimes known as the religion of the Nārāyaṇīyas (i.e. followers of Nārāyaṇa), and is also called the Pañca-rātra (or Pāñca-rātra) system, about the origin and meaning of which term, however, there is considerable uncertainty. The religious system, again, connects itself prominently with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, whose name can be split up and traced separately back to Vedic literature, but who, spoken of as Bhagavat, figures as its promulgator in the *Bhagavadgītā*, thus lending his name to the worship. His tribal name Sātvata (or less correctly Sāttvata), to which fanciful etymologies are given[1] but which has been taken as conterminous with the family name Vṛṣṇi, occurs in the Śāntiparvan as a synonym of Bhāgavata (as well as of Bhagavat himself) without any ethnic significance. It is also a designation of the religion itself. From the monotheistic character of the faith, moreover, the devotee is called *Ekāntin or Ekāntika*, and the religion is often designated as Ekānta- (or Ekāntika-) dharma.[2] Each of

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apparently used in the sense of (sexual) enjoyment in *Nirukta* iii, 16 in connexion with the word *jāra*.—S. K. D.]

[1] See *JRAS*, 1911, p. 939, f. n. 1; also *Mbh.*, xii. 342, 77f.

[2] All the four designations, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Ekāntin and Pañcarātra occur in the Nārāyaṇīya section (*Mbh*, xii, 337, 1; xii, 335, 19; xii, 348, 1-4; xii, 235, 25). [The term 'Ekāyana' ('The Way of the One,' or 'Fixing one's thought on one object' = Monotheism) is applied to the system in later Pañcarātra Āgamas (e.g. *Padma-tantra*, 1, 18): but the word is not found in the Nārāyaṇīya. An Ekāyana doctrine (śl. 30) is taught in *Mbh.*, xii, 217, but it appears to be a variation of the Brahma-doctrine (so Nīlakaṇṭha); although Nārāyaṇa (śl. 2) is associated with it, it has nothing to do with the Ekānta-dharma of the Nārāyaṇīya. In *Śrī-Praśna Saṃhitā* (quoted in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 937, n. 1) the word is vaguely used to denote a Veda, possibly a Upaniṣad, or the crown of all Upaniṣads, of which the whole of later Pañcarātra literature is supposed to be a vast com-

History behind these appellations.

these terms possesses a history behind it, and the ultimate Bhāgavata religion, as revealed in the Epic, appears to be the final meeting place of many currents of ideas and sentiments. The original records of the school are now lost, and how the different currents met is a puzzle; but an historical examination of the terms, so far as available materials permit, would form a profitable preliminary to the understanding of the main lines of the conjectural development of the religious system and of the *bhakti-vāda* it expounds.

The origin and history of Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu possesses a fairly long history, which gives him, as a deity, different values for mythology, ritualism, philosophy and religion. Judged by the number of hymns addressed to him in the *Ṛg-veda*, he does not appear to possess as much importance as his subsequent position in Indian religious history would indicate. We have only five entire hymns addressed to him, but in the somewhat puzzling character given to him by these hymns one can hardly recognise the Viṣṇu who became the centre of worship of the *bhakti* religion which goes by his name.[1]

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mentary. Is it in this sense (i.e. Upaniṣad) that the word is used in *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 1, 2, where Nārada gives Sanatkumāra a list of śāstras he has studied, though he makes it clear that he is a *mantravit* and not an *ātmavit* (or Aupaniṣada)? Colebrooke (*Essays*, i, p. 414, Madras ed. 1871), however, expresses his legitimate doubt about the meaning of Ekāyana as a śākhā of the Veda. Or, does it really refer to a traditional early Pañcarātra system, with which Nārada's name is associated in the Epic? Different explanations of the word in *Ch. Up.* have been suggested, e.g., Nītiśāstra (Śaṅkara), Ethics (Max Müller) etc.; but none is satisfactory. The word is also used in *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 5, 2 (*cittaṃ hy evaiṣām ekāyanaṃ*) apparently in the same sense as employed in *Bṛhad-Ār. Up.* ii, 4, 11 and iv, 5, 12, viz. 'the sole object,' 'the centre of union,' 'the meeting place'; but this obvious connotation does net help us in fixing its denotation of a particular *śāstra*.—S. K. D.].

[1] The main features of Viṣṇu's character have already been fully analysed and discussed by writers on Vedic mythology and religion, and we need not give detailed references here. Most of the relevant Ṛg-vedic texts in original and in translation will be found conveniently collected together in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* (London, 1863), vol. iv, ch. 2. pp 54-83.

Viṣṇu in the Ṛg-veda his mythological alliance with Indra.

and his three mighty strides.

His highest step or parama pada.

Conceived as a beneficent young giant[1] of unknown parentage,[2] his characteristic attributes are his close association with Indra[3] and his three mystic strides.[4] The first of these attributes naturally resulted in a transference to him of some of the titles and heroic deeds of Indra, as well as giving him even in Ṛg-vedic times a certain reality and importance among the great gods ; but it also tended to obscure his distinctive character. All his greatness, however, was not due to Indra, even if he does shine in Indra's reflected glory.[5] He has his own definite and famous feat which elicits enthusiastic praise, and this consists of the three mighty strides with which he measures the universe. The first two strides are earthly, discernible to men, but the third, the highest (*parama pada*) is inscrutable, known only to the wise. In the highest step of the wide-strider, which is also called his highest abode or domain, those devoted to the gods (*devayu*), as well as the gods themselves, rejoice ;[6] it is like an eye fixed shiningly in heaven, and in it there is a well of mead. Although the origin and etymology of the name Viṣṇu are puzzling,[1] both ancient and modern scholars[2] agree in assigning an original solar character to this deity, his leading attribute of the three strides symbolising the passage of the swiftly moving luminary through the three divisions of the universe (earth, air and heaven), or (a view which is less likely) representing its rise, clumination and setting. Inspite of the fact that Viṣṇu, in one of the hymns (i, 156, 3), is called the ancient germ of *ṛta*[3]

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[1] *Bṛhaccharīra, yuvan, kumāra*, i, 155, 6.

[2] He is not one of the Ādityas in the Ṛg-veda. But he is already becoming an Āditya in *Śatapatha Br.*, xiv, 1, 1, 6. It is in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* that we find him established in this role, his original solar character probably suggesting this new relation.

[3] The references are numerous. One entire hymn (i, 155) is devoted to the pair. He is Indra's worthy or intimate friend (*indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā* i, 22, 19) and is addressed as friend or colleague by Indra himself in many a hymn, the friendship arising from Viṣṇu's aid to Indra in his heroic deeds. In his supreme feat of slaying Vṛtra, Indra implores Viṣṇu to step out more widely (viii, 89, 12 ; iv, 18, 11 ; see also i, 156, 5 ; vi, 20, 2 ; vi, 69 ; vii, 99, 4 f.).

[4] Referred to in almost every hymn to Viṣṇu.

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[6] Hopkins' interpretation (*Religions of India*, p. 56 followed by Griswold, *Religion of the Ṛg-veda*, p. 194 and Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.* p. 7) based chiefly on i, 154, that it is the abode of the departed spirits is hardly borne out by the passage itself. The stanza referred

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Viṣṇu in the Ṛg-veda his mythological alliance with Indra.

and his three mighty strides.

His highest step or parama pada.

Conceived as a beneficent young giant[1] of unknown parentage,[2] his characteristic attributes are his close association with Indra[3] and his three mystic strides.[4] The first of these attributes naturally resulted in a transference to him of some of the titles and heroic deeds of Indra, as well as giving him even in Ṛg-vedic times a certain reality and importance among the great gods ; but it also tended to obscure his distinctive character. All his greatness, however, was not due to Indra, even if he does shine in Indra's reflected glory.[5] He has his own definite and famous feat which elicits enthusiastic praise, and this consists of the three mighty strides with which he measures the universe. The first two strides are earthly, discernible to men, but the third, the highest (*parama pada*) is inscrutable, known only to the wise. In the highest step of the wide-strider, which is also called his highest abode or domain, those devoted to the gods (*devayu*), as well as the gods themselves, rejoice ;[6] it is like an eye fixed shiningly in heaven, and in it there is a well of mead. Although the origin and etymology of the name Viṣṇu are puzzling,[1] both ancient and modern scholars[2] agree in assigning an original solar character to this deity, his leading attribute of the three strides symbolising the passage of the swiftly moving luminary through the three divisions of the universe (earth, air and heaven), or (a view which is less likely) representing its rise, clumination and setting. Inspite of the fact that Viṣṇu, in one of the hymns (i, 156, 3), is called the ancient germ of *ṛta*[3]

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[1] *Bṛhaccharīra, yuvan, kumāra,* i, 155, 6.

[2] He is not one of the Ādityas in the Ṛg-veda. But he is already becoming an Āditya in *Śatapatha Br.*, xiv, 1, 1, 6. It is in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* that we find him established in this role, his original solar character probably suggesting this new relation.

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(*pūrvyam ṛtasya garbham*), there is nothing to warrant the view ingeniously maintained by Barnett[1] that this solar interpretation is an after-thought or a subsequent mythologisation, that the Vedic Viṣṇu is not the Sun, and that we must emphasise those passages of the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas which present Viṣṇu as the spirit of Brāhmaṇic sacrifice. Even leaving open the question whether there is in the *Ṛg-veda* any advanced ritualistic theory which would make such a suggestion plausible, it is difficult to accept Barnett's contention as applying to Ṛg-vedic Viṣṇu. It is not enough to explain all the Ṛg-vedic mythological characteristics and epithets of Viṣṇu and displace the generally accepted theory of solar origin, of which traces persist throughout the history of the deity ; but the point is important for understanding the process of Viṣṇu's elevation in subsquent literature. Following R. G. Bhandarkar[2] the general opinion has been that Viṣṇu's later popularity and rise in importance were chiefly due to the reverence for the third step, the mysterious highest abode where he dwells. This is probably true, but it cannot be the whole explanation. The passages from the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas emphasised by Barnett establish without doubt that in the Brāhmaṇic period, if not in the Ṛg-vedic times, Viṣṇu was connceived more or less as the embodied spirit of sacrifice, whose inspiring power was an aid to Indra ; and that his three steps embracing the earth, air and sky were perhaps expressed symbolically in the common ritual formula *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ* (earth, air and sky),[3] which apparently refers to the all-pervading power of sacrifice. It is not clear by

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refers to cosmic order. This word indicates no connexion with Varuṇa and his *Ṛta*, and Keith is undoubtedly right (*op, cit.*, p. 112, note) in stating that Viṣṇu's connexion with Varuṇa is slight and artificial.

[1] *Hindu Gods and Heroes* (London, 1922), pp. 38f.

[2] *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg 1913), pp. 33f.

[3] This is Barnett's explanation ; but the ritual formula, which may conceivably refer to the three forms or three abodes of the preeminently ritualistic god Agni, need not be directly connected with Viṣṇu. The sacrificers taking three strides in the ritual in imitation of the three strides of Viṣṇu (*Śatapatha Br.*, i, 9, 3, 9-10 and 15) is, however, more significant (Keith, *Taitt. Saṃ.*, i. p. cxxvii).

what train of thought this conception of Viṣṇu as sacrifice was reached in the Brāhmaṇas, but it is clear that by this identification, beginning from the time of the Yajur-Veda, Viṣṇu came to possess an added importance in Brāhmaṇic theory and ritual, even if he was not yet the supreme god nor the god of a devotional faith. He was perhaps already a great god in Ṛg-vedic times, but this constant identification with sacrifice, as Keith points out,[1] probably increased that greatness and made it permanent and abiding.

Viṣṇu's benevolence and his exertions on man's behalf in Ṛg-veda.

Another Ṛg-vedic attribute, which Viṣṇu shares with Varuṇa and other gods but which must have moulded his character in epic times as a sectarian god, is his good thought or benevolence (*sumati*), which embraces all mankind and through which he traverses the universe with his wide steps (I, 156, 3; vii, 100, 2). Among the motives variously given for the three strides are mentioned Viṣṇu's concern for men in distress (iv, 49, 13) and his desire to bestow the earth as dwelling for man (vii, 69, 5-6; vii, 100, 4). It was Viṣṇu who made fast the earth, propped up the lofty sky, enveloped the world in light, and by his three steps maintained the steadfast ordinances; hence he is called the Protector, *gopā* (I, 22, 18-19; I, 154, 1-2; vi, 69, 5; vii, 99, 2-4; etc). No doubt, some of these cosmic acts and attributes Viṣṇu possesses in common with other gods; and his mythological alliance with Indra may be partially responsible for his magnanimous and munificent qualities; but benevolence is one of the traits which is unmistakeable and which, surviving in the mythological conception of the Epic, must have helped the process of his later elevation in popular sectarianism.

Viṣṇu as the personation of sacrifice in the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.

Whatever may have been the process of his translation and elevation in epic times, there can be no doubt that Viṣṇu, is already a more important deity in Ṛg-vedic times than the comparative paucity of references in the hymns would seem to indicate.[2] He comes to figure more prominently and definitely as the personation of sacrifice in the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.[1] In the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (i, 7, 4) we are told that "Viṣṇu is verily the sacrifice"—a sentiment which is accepted implicitly in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* i, 4, 14 and seems to be fairly well established in post-Vedic literature. In the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (ii, 25 and xii, 5), Viṣṇu, presumably as '*yajña*' or sacrifice (as commentators explain) is mentioned as dispelling evil-minded enemies, and the three strides are now definitely located in the earth, air and space.One significant passage of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (i, 9, 3, 9) relates the details of the legend regarding the three steps and furnishes a symbolical meaning to it in terms of the ritual.[2] The miraculous power of Vāmana-Viṣṇu, the Sacrifice, of enlarging himself (in his artifice to defeat the Asuras) to such an extent as to encompass the whole universe,[3] is referred to in another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa (i, 2, 5, 1 f.), which gives perhaps the germs of the later myth of the dwarf incarnation ; while yet another passage of the same text (xiv, i, i, 1 f.) contains the legend of a contention among the gods at a sacrificial session, in which Viṣṇu, the Sacrifice itself, comes off victorious and is therefore dubbed "the most excellent (*śreṣṭha*) of the gods". The sentiment is anticipated

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[1] *Philosophy and Religion of the Veda*, p. 111.

[2] See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Although only five entire hymns are addressed to Viṣṇu in the *Ṛg-veda*, he is referred to about a little over hundred times; and *Ṛg-veda* i, 22, 16f., i, 154-6, vii, 99, 1, vii, 100 would, inspite of the usual tendency to henotheism, show that he was not such an insignificant god in the Vedic pantheon as he is

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often thought to be. His name occurs 59 and 66 times in the Yajur and Atharva-Veda respectively. That he was an old deity even in *Ṛg-veda* seems probable from the reference to him as *pūrva*.

[1] Some of the Brāhmaṇa passages in original and in translation will be found collected together in Muir, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 107-114.

[2] We are told in this passage that Viṣṇu by his strides obtained for the gods all pervading power (*vikrānti*), and that the same pervading power Viṣṇu, as sacrifice, obtains by his strides for the sacrificer. For this reason the sacrificer strides the Viṣṇu strides, referring to the three strides which the sacrificer takes in the ritual in imitation of Viṣṇu himself. Identification with sacrifice also occurs in *Śatapatha Br.*, i, 1, 1, 2 ; xiv, 1, 1, 6 ; *Ait. Br.* i, 15 ; *Taitt. Br.* i, 2, 5, 1, etc. It is noteworthy that 'yajña' or sacrifice is an "incarnation" of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i, 3, 1 f.).

[3] In this passage the three strides are not mentioned. Cf. *Ṛg-veda*, i, 155, 6 where Viṣṇu's gigantic form (*bṛhaccharīra*) is mentioned. On an explanation of the origin of the myth of the dwarf form, see Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 111, which also refers to the Brāhmaṇa and Saṃhitā passages relating to the cosmogonic Boar and Fish forms (see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 41).

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in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (i, 1) which calls Viṣṇu, as a ritualistic deity, *paramadeva*, in contradistinction to Agni, who is called *avama deva*,[1] although the same Brāhmaṇa elsewhere (i, 30) gives to Viṣṇu the doubtful compliment of making him the door-keeper of the gods (*devānāṃ dvārapālaḥ*)[2] A curious legend is also told in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiv, 1, 1, 7-10)[3] of the accidental severing of Viṣṇu's head from his body and of the head being transformed into the Sun—a recollection perhaps of his original solar character.

Viṣṇu as the mythological protector from Asuras.

On the mythological side, as distinguised from the merely ritualistic,[4] the three strides of Viṣṇu become important in the Brāhmaṇas for the part they play in the protection of the world from the Asuras, who are now conceived definitely as evil beings perpetually hostile to the gods. Thus, in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (vi, 15) the Asuras having agreed to assign to the gods so much as could be covered by Viṣṇu with three strides, he is said to have appropriated by his famous strides the world, the Vedas and speech.

In the earlier Upaniṣads, Viṣṇu does not figure much[5]; but the

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[1] This apparently refers to their respective order of invocation in the Soma sacrifice (Agni being invoked first and Viṣṇu last), and not, as Max Müller pointed out, proves anything as to their relative dignity or place in the hierarchy of gods. Keith suggests that the passage may refer to the physical situation of the gods, viz. the celestial Sun and the terrestrial Fire.

[2] Quoting *Ṛg-veda* (i, 156, 4) (*vrajáṃ ca viṣṇuḥ sakhivāṃ aporṇuté*), where Viṣṇu with his friends is described as opening the enclosure (of Vṛtra ?).

[3] The story is repeated in *Taitt. Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 1-7. In *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, vii, 5, 6 f. the same tale is told of Makha (=sacrifice ?). See Weber, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, English Trs., 4th ed. (London 1904), pp. 126-7.

[4] It is important to note, as R. G. Bhandarkar points out (*op. cit.*, p. 34), that not only in the sacrificial ceremony, but also in the ritual of domestic life, specially in the marriage ritual, Viṣṇu came to play a part. Viṣṇu as the protector of the embryo and promoter of conception is already a Ṛg-vedic idea (viii, 36, 9 ; x, 184).

[5] Viṣṇu is mentioned in *Bṛhad-Ār. Up.*, iv, 4, 21 (*viṣṇur yoniṃ kalpayatu*) in the course of a symbolical description of the sexual rite ; but the passage hardly signifies much, unless one supposes that

Viṣṇu in the Upaniṣads.

Kaṭha Upaniṣad, in a well-known passage (i, 3, 9) gives a philosophical significance to Viṣṇu's *parama pada* as the end of the path which man traverses, the final goal of existence. With an undoubted reference to the older Ṛg-vedic myth, the highest step of Viṣṇu is used (as the preceding stanzas show) almost synonymously with the state of Brahma (*tatpada*), so that Viṣṇu is apparently mentioned here as an empirical manifestation or form of Brahman. It must be borne in mind that in the Ṛg-vedic scheme the upper heaven, which is spoken of as the highest step and abode of Viṣṇu, is not his exclusive dwelling, but belongs to all celestial (*dyu-sthāna*) deities, as well as to the terrestrial Agni and Soma; but when it became peculiar to Viṣṇu as his *parama pada*, this expression presumably helped in raising the deity to his higher post-Vedic dignity.

No intrinsic connexion of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic Viṣṇu with bhakti religion.

It is clear from the brief sketch given above that the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic Viṣṇu has little inner connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya or Bhāgavata religion, which apperently did not owe its origin to Vedic literature, and that early Viṣṇuism, if it ever independently existed, was neither Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship, nor the *bhakti*-religion which came to be known under the generic name of Vaiṣṇavism. No doubt, Viṣṇu's benevolence is a characteristic trait, but it has

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Viṣṇu here symbolises the source of fertility, in accordance with the Ṛg-vedic idea of Viṣṇu as the promoter of conception. In *Taitt. Up.* i, 1, 1 Viṣṇu is apparently nothing more than the wide-striding (*viṣṇur urukramaḥ*) Vedic deity. Among later Upaniṣads the *Maitrāyaṇī* distinctly brings in sectarian ideas and refers to the three aspects of the Supreme Being as Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu (iv, 5; vi, 5). It is not necessary to refer here to the much later neo-Upaniṣads where Viṣṇu figures abundantly as the Supreme Being, for these must have been composed under professedly Vaiṣṇavite influence. Barnett's statement (*JRAS*, 1929, p. 129) that the chief doctrines of a *Viṣṇuite Church* are preserved in *Chāndogya Up.* iii, 17, 6 is not supported by anything in the text itself, unless of course one presumes the identity of Kṛṣṇa-Devakīputra of this passage with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the epic (which question may now be left out of discussion). Still less are any Viṣṇuite doctrines preserved, as he alleges, in certain parts of the *Kaṭha Up.*

little direct relation to the idea of a god of grace,[1] which s fundamental to the later faiths; and the cosmic and ritualistic attributes fade away in the later vivid and devout conception of a personal and loveable god. The process whereby the comparatively inferior Vedic Viṣṇu was in post-Vedic literature transformed into the supreme Epic Viṣṇu is not altogether difficult to understand, for the latter still retains some of the characteristics of his earlier prototype; but it is not clear how Viṣṇu, whether Vedic or Brāhmaṇic, could be connected with an entirely new system of theistic devotion for a personal god and identified with Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. One may presume that this was due merely to the fortuitous circumstance that Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were inde-

How he was connected and identified with popular devotionalism.

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[1] Macnicol's statements (*op. cit.*, p. 39) that Viṣṇu from Vedic times "was recognised as a god of grace" or that he was "too highly personalised a deity" are too hasty generalisations. It is also alleged (*op. cit.*, p. 34) that Viṣṇu "was connected from earliest Vedic times with a work of deliverance for mankind" and that this was one of the elements which inspired the thought of "salvation" and elevated Viṣṇu to the highest place in Indian theistic devotion. But *Ṛg-veda*, vi, 49, 13, which is cited in support, only speaks in general terms of Viṣṇu's feat of measuring the universe by his three strides for the good of mankind and praises his bountifulness. The verse cannot be specifically construed as giving any idea of a god of grace connected with the work of deliverance or salvation, but it merely refers, generally, to his benevolence and munificence, of which we have spoken above. If deeds of deliverance were any test, then Indra, more than Viṣṇu, should have claimed more attention. If, in the Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇu is associated with protection of the world from the Asuras, it must have been due to his alliance with Indra and the Vṛtra-myth or to his new rôle as the personification of sacrifice. Macnicol's further generalisation (p. 30) that the Brāhmaṇa identification of Viṣṇu with sacrifice is an indication that Viṣṇu was "already on his way to his place as the god of the worship of men's hearts" is not only unwarranted but betrays an entire misunderstanding of the Brāhmaṇa notion of sacrifice. See Keith's effective criticism of this point in *JRAS*, 1915, p. 839.

pendently raised to the supreme dignity and were (despite their difference as types) as a matter of course equalised by a mysterious process of religious syncretism. Mutual compromise may be suggested. But all this cannot be the whole explanation. The connecting links are unfortunately missing ; only surmise but no definite solution of the problem is possible.

The different stages of Viṣṇu's history.

In the obscurity of the early ages it is not easy to discern the causes which set Viṣṇu apart for this particular rôle and raised him to the place of eminence which he came to occupy in post-Vedic religious literature ; but from the account given above the different stages can be dimly distinguished. When we find that the Brāhmaṇas already identify Viṣṇu with the sacrifice and exalt him as an excellent deity, we can guess that he is already on the way of becoming one of the central figures of the sacrificial religion. This is the first stage : but how this was accomplished is not clear. There is no evidence to support Barnett's thesis that this was the natural working out of an older hieratic tradition which regarded Viṣṇu not as a solar character but from the beginning, as the personification of sacrifice. It appears more plausible, on the other hand, to regard Viṣṇu's inspiring mythological connexion with Indra in the latter's heroic deeds as one of the factors working towards this identification with sacrifice, especially if we bear in mind the Vedic theory of the inspiring power of sacrifice, which is supposed to strengthen the gods in the performance of their divine functions. Indra is declared in mythology to gain in power by Viṣṇu's mystic aid, in the same way as Indra is said in ritual theory to acquire divine energy by the mystic aid of sacrifice. An original mythological trait, of which an analogy was found in the ritual dogma, might have led to the ultimate mystical equalisation ; but we must not press the analogy so far as to suppose with Barnett that in Viṣṇu's three all-embracing strides was found the symbol of the power of sacrifice to pervade the three worlds.

His identification with sacrifice—its cause and effect.

Viṣṇu as a temporary philosophical personification of Brahman.

At any rate, in one of the younger Upaniṣads we find not only a confirmation of Viṣṇu's rising significance in Brāhmaṇical circle, but also the hint of a temporary philosophical personification of Viṣṇu as Brahman. In the declaration that the end of man's long journey, the goal of wisdom, is the highest place of Viṣṇu, we mark a definite stage in the process of Viṣṇu's elevation.

Factors which helped his elevation in later times.

Reverence for his mysterious highest step.

His intimate association with the great Indra and the trait of benevolence in his character.

His original solar character and association of light and life.

There is some probability in R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the obscurity surrounding Viṣṇu's inscrutable third step[1] helped to give him an association of divine mystery necessary for a supreme god. This sentiment finds expression even in the heightened statement of one hymn (vii, 99, 2) in which the seer declares that Viṣṇu, more than any other god, is beyond mortal comprehension. Viṣṇu's intimate alliance with the great Indra whose quality he absorbs to himself, and the trait of benevolence in his character must also be emphasised, for here we have a transference to him of the vivid reality of Indra's character, as well as the Vedic germs of Viṣṇu's love for man and his exertions on the world's behalf. To all this must be added the fact that Viṣṇu was originally a sun-god with the sun-god's tremendous cosmic attributes, as well as his association of light and life and blessedness,[2] especially as a study of comparative religion assures us that this has been a potent factor in elevating some deities of other nations to a place of eminence. It is not difficult to understand that as Viṣṇu was originally a kindly yet active sun-god, the source of life and light, he was found to be the best possible god to identify with the loveable yet energetic supreme deity of a popular cult. But in this connexion the question naturally arises as to why Viṣṇu, and not the other solar deities, Mitra, Pūṣan, Sūrya and Savitṛ, should be found to possess the enduring theogonic capacity of attracting the special devotion of worshippers and becoming later the centre of a devotional faith. To this question there is no precise solution. Perhaps Mitra, surviving from a much earlier period, had already lost his individuality or merged it in that of Varuṇa, and could not attain the eminence which his Iranian double Mithra did ; perhaps Pūṣan, who almost disappears in later Vedic and post-Vedic literature, was too much of an insignificant pastoral god ; perhaps Sūrya, symbolising the luminary itself, was too obvious and concrete a deity[1]; but it is somewhat surprising that the golden deity Savitṛ, the stimulator, should be brushed aside in favour of Viṣṇu. The only plausible explanation of the ignoring of Savitṛ appears to be the comparative lack of heroic traditions and legends and a certain want of reality, the presence of which might be demanded in the central figure of a popular cult.

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[1] Reverence for the wide steps appears especially in *Ṛg-veda*, i, 22, 16-21 ; i, 154.

[2] Macnicol, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, 34.

All these explain his elevation to the dignity of a supreme deity; but his connexion and identification with popular cults—how to be explained.

All these conjectures may be hazarded and they may be justly pronounced problematical; but it does not follow that these ideas were not at present all in the history of the transformation of Viṣṇu. They are, however, not sufficient to explain the last step by which a vivid personal god was moulded out of uncertain figures of mythology or speculation. The springs of religious devotion are always obscure, and it is difficult to explain why some gods, more than the others, can specially attract the intimate devotion of his worshippers; but there can be no doubt that obscure sectarian sentiments of love and reverence for a real and personal god had the ultimate influence in affecting the older pantheon and completing the transformation of Viṣṇu, as also Rudra and Prajāpati. It betrays as much willingness on the part of orthodoxy (for Viṣṇu until now was an orthodox deity) to lend its not-insignificant god, as an eagerness on the part of sectarianism to borrow, remodel and identify him with its own loveable gods or demi-gods; and the procedure, even if not deliberate, must have been for mutual benefit.[2] By this process the semi-divine character of popular heroes and demi-gods of tradition, was on the one hand, enhanced by their identification with an old deity of orthodox mythology and speculation; while on the other hand, the latter became heir to the regard and affection in which the popular heroes and demi-gods were traditionally held. The process is still traceable in a vague way in the Epic,[1] but by what precise train of thought the ultimate identifications were reached will remain uncertain.

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[1] [The Saura sect is an exception difficult to explain. Foreign influence has been conjectured, but the antiquity and indigenous form of the worship cannot be denied. This is perhaps a survival of the ancient worship of a sun-god as a sun-god, conceived also as a symbol of the supreme deity. In the Epic cult Viṣṇu is no longer an obvious sun-god.—S. K. D.]

[2] Barth's suggestion (*Religions of India*, Eng. Tr., p. 166) of the foisting of a sectarian god (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) upon a dummy Viṣṇu, and Hopkins' view (*Religions of India*, p. 388) that it was "an attempt to foist upon Vedic believers a sectarian god by identifying the latter with a Vedic divinity," are really one-sided generalisations. The Brāhmaṇisation of Bhāgavatism, on which Grierson puts so much emphasis, must be understood in the sense that it was the result of a compromise on both sides. If the non-Brāhmaṇic popular cult

Viṣṇu in the Epic.

The many-sidedness of Viṣṇu's character in the Epic is remarkable, and as a figure of popular devotion he is strangely elusive. Mythology and philosophy, superstition and the practice of piety combine to give him ever-changing forms and mystical identifications. But in the midst of the extraordinary variety of deities in the Epic, Viṣṇu's vivid personality cannot be mistaken. In the Epic[2] Viṣṇu figures pre-eminently as an independent full-blooded supreme deity, or is conceived in the philosophical term of All-Soul, or identified with All-god, as well as with Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa; but he retains through all the multifarious mythological, theological or legendary embellishment a shadow of the older Ṛg-vedic traditions. There is indeed hardly any obvious trace in the Epic of the older views regarding Viṣṇu; but his solar origin is not altogether obliterated. It reappears in his direct identification with the sun[3] in some passages, as well as in the many solar epithets

Traces of his solar origin.

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was Brāhmanised, the Brāhmanic religion in its turn was entirely transformed by the popular cult, so that in the end what remained is as much Brāhmanic as popular. It is in this character that we find the religion in the Epic.

[1] See Hopkins' *Epic Mythology*, p. 77.

[2] All the references to relevant epic passages will be found in Hopkins' *op. cit.* sections 143-157; Sörensen, *Index of the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London 1904), as well as in Muir, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 114 f., 131 f. Detailed references, therefore, are not given here. Our references to the Mahābhārata throughout are to the Calcutta edition (Bangabāsī Press, 1908, with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary), which substantially agrees with the Bombay edition, unless otherwise indicated.

[3] This point can hardly be made the ground of the hypothesis of the solar origin of Vaiṣṇavism such as Grierson wants to make out in his article on "The Nārāyaṇīya and the Bhāgavatas," in *Ind.*

he bears and adventures he accomplishes. He is golden-coloured (*suvarṇa-varṇa*), the shining (*rocamāna*) sun-bird (*suparṇa*), who traverses the sky, or rises like a mare's head (*haya-grīva, aśva-śiras*, etc.) from the sea[1]; he is thousand-rayed (*sahasrārcis*), possesses the seven steeds of the sun (*saptāśva*) and his disc (*cakra*), having the sun itself for his eye and the diadem of solar glory (*kirīṭin*); he is *govinda, gohita, gopati* and *goptṛ* like the sun, and has the bird Garuḍa (who must be traced to a different Ṛg-vedic myth) as his sign (*suparṇa-ketu, garuḍa-dhvaja*) and his vehicle; he is tawny-haired (*hari-śmaśru*) and connected with spring-time (*mādhava*); he is the golden germ (*hiraṇya-garbha, vasu-retas*); and his three strides (*tri-vikrama*) encompasses the three worlds. The original mythological subordination and association with Indra is scarcely concealed. The three steps and Viṣṇu's connexion with Vṛtra-myth are expressly stated in the epic story of Indra's fight with the demon Vṛtra in iii, 10, where Viṣṇu promises to aid Indra by entering into his thunderbolt. He is the youngest of the Ādityas, last in birth, we are told, but best in excellence; but even if he is younger than Indra (Upendra) he soon rises above him (Atīndra); and Indra's titles and fighting character, passing into this junior Āditya, he typifies prowess and and becomes pre-eminently the lord of hosts (*gaṇeśvara*) and the slayer of demons (*daityāri*). If grandeur is sometimes imparted to his appearance by giving him a terrible form (*ghorā tanu*), he is conceived as fair, beautiful and lovely, not dark, but white; and his benevolence, love for man and munificence are not forgotten.

But new characteristics and new legends, which we need not catalogue here in detail, gather round Viṣṇu and transform him into a new mythological being,[2] conceived as the supreme personal god. He is no longer a sun-god, nor is the religion of which he is the

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Ant., Sept. 1908, as well as in his article "Bhakti-Mārga" in *ERE*, p. 540. The solar origin of Viṣṇu does not indicate the origin of Vaiṣṇavism as sun-worship. See S. K. De in *BSOS*, vi (1930).

[1] A mythical story of the *haya-śiras* form is told, with philosophical explanations, in xii, 347, and this form with the horse's head is said to be the primeval (*purāṇa*) form.

[2] This in itself would show the implausibility of any suggestion that the epic sectarian faith connected with Viṣṇu is a form of solar worship, or had any original connexion with such worship.

His transformation into a new mythological character as a supreme sectarian god in the Epic.

centre connected in any way to sun-worship. He is also not the impersonal Brāhmaṇic principle of sacrifice, although traces of this idea linger in his connexion with sacrifice. Nor again is he the temporary Upaniṣadic embodiment of the metaphysical Brahman, although philosophically his unmanifest and unconditioned being is acknowledged. In spite of the divergent sectarian zeal, which sometimes exalts Brahmā and Śiva, with whom also he is identified as one of the Trinity, Viṣṇu in the Epic is undoubtedly the dominating and supreme god of a personal faith, either in his own vivid form or as identified with Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. The curious syncretism involved in the Indian theory of Incarnation, as well as the convenient philosophical doctrine which believed in one supreme reality but admitted temporary personifications of the same, is responsible for attracting to him old myths attributed to Prajāpati and other gods, and giving him a new, but living, mythological personality. He is soon identified, as the supreme deity, with many other gods, orthodox and sectarian, or with deified beings claiming that honour, especially with Nārāyaṇa, an independent Brāhmaṇic as well as legendary conception, whose titles and attributes are also absorbed. Viṣṇu's four forms (*caturmūrti*), four arms (*caturbhuja*), four lights (*caturbhānu*), guardianship of the four quarters (*caturmahārājika*),[1] all seems to be the mythological result of the theological *vyūha* doctrine of the Pañcarātra worshippers of Nārāyaṇa, which speaks of four successive presentations or emanations (*caturvyūha*) of the supreme deity, as Vāsudeva (or Kṣetrajña = the pure knowing self), Saṃkarṣaṇa (jīva), Pradyumna (mind) and Aniruddha (self-consciousness)[2],—who are also mythologically conceived as belonging to the same family! Apart from this, Viṣṇu as the supreme god is also conceived as the supreme philosophical principle, the highest Ātman or Brahman or Puruṣa of philosophical speculation.[1] He is, however, not a mere philosophical abstraction, but a living, powerful and real god, who is the lord and ruler as well as the creator and the destroyer. From our point of view, however, the most interesting points are his absorption of Nārāyaṇa and his identification with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, to which we should now turn our enquiry.

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[1] Cf. the Mahārājas of the Buddhists, who were also Lokapālas.

[2] Nārāyaṇa, we are told (xii, 344, 15 f.), remains mystically in the disc of the Sun, and cleansed souls enter the sun-door into him, thence pass into Aniruddha, and thence becoming pure mind go to Pradyumna, thence to Saṃkarṣaṇa and finally into Vāsudeva or Kṣetrajña. This mystical *vyūha* doctrine, to which we shall return later, plays an important part in the later development of the cult; but its anticipations are to be found in the Epic itself. The doctrine in its philosophical aspect is discussed in the commentaries on *Brahma-*

His identification with sectarian deities of independent origin, esp. with Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

(*To be continued*)

MRINAL DAS GUPTA

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sūtra, ii, 2, 42. It is to be noted that this theory of *vyūhas* or emanations is absent in the *Bhagavadgītā*, but is developed in the Nārāyaṇīya episode of the Epic.

[1] It is not clear what Hopkins (*Religions of India*, p. 461) means by the remark that "it is with the philosophical (and not the ritualistic) Viṣṇu that Kṛṣṇa is identified," unless he has the philosophical *Bhagavadgītā* especially in view; for, the epic Viṣṇu is more a mythological than a philosophical creation. Philosophy does not appear to have done much for Viṣṇu, philosophy in the epic conception being more an outward accretion than an inward principle. The above remark of Hopkins is also hard to reconcile with another which he makes in his *Epic Mythology* (p. 203, note), where he says: "Viṣṇu is first a philosopher's god," which he further explains by the qualification "i.e., priestly god." And yet he would not admit "ritualistic" Viṣṇu, who was also presumably "priestly."

The Chronology of the Western Kṣatrapas and the Andhras

II

The Nasik cave inscriptions have been studied very carefully by Bühler (A.S.W.I., vol. iv) and Senart (E.I., vol. viii, p. 59 ff.). We shall first of all examine the panegyric of Queen Balaśrī. We have observed before that the first epigraphic record of Gautamīputra at Nasik is dated in the year 18. It is generally believed by scholars that Gautamīputra extended his territories after this date and probably exterminated the Kṣaharātas in that year. I cannot understand exactly what Sir R. G. Bhandarkar meant by conjoint rule. My impression after a study of his Early History of the Deccan is that according to him Pulumāyi was associated with his father even from the start. If this impression is correct, it would appear that Gautamīputra had already conquered all those extensive territories by the 18th year of his reign, as they have been mentioned in the inscription of the 19th year of Pulumāyi (19th year of Gautamīputra, according to those who maintain the theory of conjoint rule). In any case the recounting of the exploits of Gautamīputra in Balaśrī's inscription was made soon after the conquests of Gautamīputra. But then the style of the language of the inscription leaves the impression that these conquests took place some time ago and was not certainly recent. As a matter of fact, all the translators always use the past tense. This significant fact shows that Pulumāyi and Gautamīputra cannot have ruled together. Again, towards the end of the same inscription, we find that Pulumāyi makes over "the merit of the gift to his father". This making over of the merit implies that the donee is dead. M. Senart too expresses this view though with much hesitation. Another fact strongly militates against the theory of joint rule, viz., that Queen Bala-śrī who so elaborately extols the exploits of her son should fail to date the record in the regnal years of her son even though her son was alive. Besides, it is certainly very astonishing that kings who were supposed to be ruling together should never have been mentioned together. The relevant inscriptions come from the same place and are even found in the same cave. If the kings were really reigning conjointly, certainly their names would have been mentioned together. Again, the solicitude of Pulumāyi for the maintenance of the ascetics living in the Queen's cave also point to the fact that the latter was ruling alone (E.I., VIII, p. 65).

We may for the present leave the Sātavāhanas alone and turn our attention to Nahapāṇa whose dates, as we have shown, cannot be referred to the Śaka era. When could he have reigned? Here, however, some of the scholars refer his date to the Vikrama era, a suggestion made long ago by Cunningham (vide also Śāstrī, J. R. A. S., 1926, p. 655), while R. D. Banerji suggests that the dates of Nahapāṇa are to be referred to his regnal years. If we refer the dates of Nahapāṇa to the Vikrama era, we find that he must have been ruling about 7 to 12 B.C. But this ascription of the dates of Nahapāṇa to the Vikrama era presents insuperable difficulties which cannot be removed on any hypothesis. The Periplus is our authority for this period. Unfortunately we cannot ascertain the date of the Periplus with precision. McCrindle dates it between A. D.. 80 and 89. Kennedy considers it to have been written c. 70 A.D. (J. R. A. S., 1918 p. 112). Schoff originally thought the date of the work to have been 60 A.D., but later on changed his view. But we can find out its terminus *ante quem* with certainty. The author of the Periplus speaks of contemporary king Malichas, the king of the Nabateans. We know that this kingdom was annexed by Trajan in 106 A.D. to the Roman empire. So the book must have been written before 106 A.D. But the king mentioned seems to be Maliku III who flourished between 39 and 70 A.D. The series of Nabatean inscriptions too abruptly end at about 95 A.D. As a matter of fact, we cannot be far from wrong if we hold that the work was finished before 90 A. D. Now in the Periplus (Art. 41) we find a reference to a king Mambaros (McCrindle) or Nambanus (Schoff). The careful study of Abbe Boyer and other scholars make it certain (vide Journal Asiatique, 1897. Nahapāṇa et l'era Śaka) that Mambaros-Nambanus of the Periplus is to be identified with the great Kṣaharāta satrap Nahapāṇa. So it is apparent that Nahapāṇa was ruling before the Periplus was written. We cannot definitely say when he came to the throne and how long he was on it. All that can legitimately be inferred is that he must have been on the throne some time before 90 A.D. About the territories of Nahāpāṇa, the Periplus furnishes us with the particulars that they included

Barygaza, and Minnagar (? Mandasor), near Ujjain. But how far did it extend towards Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra? The surmise of Boyer that the territory next to his was that of Keprobotes, king of Limurike, is probably correct. What the Periplus actually tells us is contained in Art. 50. From Barugaza the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly to the south, and the country is therefore called Dakhinabades (51). Among the marts in the south country there are two of more importance, Paiṭhāna, which lies south from Barugaza a distance of twenty days, and Tagara ten days east of Paiṭhāna, the greatest city in the country (52). The local marts which occur in order along the coast after Barugaza are Akabarou, Souppara, and Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its regular trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, entered its ports, a guard was put on board and they were taken to Barugaza (53). After Kalliena other local marts are mentioned. Then follows Naoura and Tundis, the first marts of the Limurike, and after these Mouziris and Nelkunda, the seats of Government. So from this account of the Periplus it would appear that the kingdom of Nahapāṇa stretched for some length below Kalliena (Kalyan). The powerful elder Saraganes and the weak Sandanes may or may not be Sātavāhana. The context and the language of the Greek passage show that they were not contemporary rulers. Now this is exactly the territories of Nahapāṇa, as we find from the place-names in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama. The Nasik region, however, is not included. But from the way in which Paiṭhāna and Tagara (? Junnar) has been mentioned in the Periplus it can be inferred that they too lay within Nahapāṇa's dominions. And this would show the inclusion of N. Mahāraṣṭra within his territories. Thus it is clear that some time before 90 A.D. Nahapāṇa's territories included those regions which scholars generally place under his sway about the year 46 (Ayama's Junnar inscription), which they also consider to be the closing year of his reign. This is important and strongly supports our date of Gautamīputra on entirely different grounds. According to our chronological arrangement the defeat of the Kṣaharātas took place in c. 96 A.D. But Nahapāṇa himself might have reigned a few years earlier and closed his reign at about 70 A.D. There is nothing in the Periplus to contradict it, while there is much to be said in favour of this date. I would refer to Kennedy's article in J. R. A. S., 1918, and to Schoff's introduction to his translation of the Periplus. This explains the wear and tear in the coins of Nahapāṇa, both before and after their being restruck by Gautamīputra (noticed by Rev. Scott).

There is an interesting note on Ujjain in the Periplus which throws some light on the vexed history of this period. The Periplus informs (Art 45) that "in the same region eastward is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital wherein the king resided". The context and the language of the Greek passage leave the impression that Ozene was the capital of Nahapāṇa, but who for reasons not known to us transferred it to Minnagar (Mandasor), near Ujjain. About the period described by the Periplus, Ujjain was included in Nahapāṇa's dominions. Would not this change of his capital from such a famous place to a city comparatively unknown mean that he had lost hold of Ujjain? This is possible and would show that about the time of the Periplus the power of Nahapāṇa was on decline. And this probably was due to the attack of the other line of the Kṣatrapas and of the Sātavāhanas.

That Nahapāṇa was defeated by Gautamīputra seems *a priori* possible on account of the fact that in the great Joghaltembhi hoard there is not a single coin of any other king after Nahapāṇa. But on other considerations this view seems to be incorrect. We have already given the arguments of Rev. Scott. A careful study of Queen Balaśrī's inscription too confirms this impression. There the great king Gautamīputra is described as "one who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who rooted out the Khaharāta race; who restored the glory of the Sātavāhanas......". Now the main argument in favour of the theory of the defeat of Nahapāṇa by Gautamīputra is based on the fact that in this inscription he is described as having rooted out the Khaharāta race coupled with a doubtful passage in a Nasik inscription (No. 4, E.I., VIII, p. 71) which is translated differently by Bühler and Senart. Bühler took the passage to mean "the field which has been possessed by Ṛṣabhadatta up to the present time", while Senart took the crucial word "Ajakalakiyam" to be the name of the field. The interpretation of Senart is quite plausible. So this inscription cannot definitely be taken to imply that the field came to Gautamīputra's possession immediately after Ṛṣabhadatta's. Again, is it not very strange that the name of so great a king as Nahapāṇa (who it is alleged was defeated and killed by Gautamīputra) should not be mentioned in an eulogistic praśasti? This reticence should have led scholars to conclude otherwise. But it is rather strange that scholars who have built their theories on the strength of the phrase *khakharatavasaniravasesakarasa*, should have utterly neglected the preceding phrase *sakayavana palhavanisudanasa*. It is rather unfortunate that we do not know exactly the extent of the dominions of Nahapāṇa. The place-names in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama show that his sway extended over a large territory from Prabhāsa in S. Gujrat, from Broach to Surparaka, the Nasik district, Puṣkara near Ajmer, Ujjain region, Karle and Junnar. This is what we find from the inscriptions. But Prof. Rapson assures us without giving any weighty reason that "Nahapāṇa's territory must have extended much farther north. The place-names in the inscription of Queen Bala-śrī seem undoubtedly to indicate the provinces which her son Gautamīputra wrested from the Kṣaharātas, and these included Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Kukura (probably some portion of Rajputana), Ākara (East Malwa), and Avanti (West Malwa)." There is nothing whatsoever in the praśasti of Bala-śrī which can show that all the provinces mentioned there (unless specifically mentioned as belonging to others) should be taken to mean to have been wrested from the Kṣaharātas. On the other hand, we are told in the praśasti that Gautamīputra destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas. Now should we not seek, in some of these territories which the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama indicate to have been in the possession of Nahapāṇa, the names of the territories of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas? Another statement of Prof. Rapson is still more open to criticism. It has been held by scholars that Gautamīputra exterminated the Kṣaharātas and annexed their territories. Prof. Rapson endorses this view, but again he observes: "Even after these provinces had been conquered by the Andhras, the districts still further north may have remained, since Puṣkara in Ajmer, the place of pilgrimage to which Ṛṣabhadatta resorted for consecration (abhiṣeka) after his victory over the Malayas, may be supposed to have lain within the dominions of his lord (bhaṭṭāraka)." Thus we find that the current hypothesis of complete extermination of the Kṣaharātas is negatived even in the very record which is regarded to prove it. As a matter of fact, such expressions have to be taken in a qualified sense.

In view of these facts we can legitimately hold that Nahapāṇa himself was not defeated by Gautamīputra. He must have been a successor, may be his son in-law Uṣavadāta. In any way the interval between his death and the complete defeat of the Kṣaharātas is small. The explicit mention of Nahapāṇa as a reigning monarch in the Periplus does not allow us to formulate any theory which would take him towards the very beginning of the Christian era or even before it.

To close this account of Kṣatrapa and Andhra chronology one more knotty point has to be tackled. Who is really Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, who was twice defeated in fair fight by Rudradāman and yet was not exterminated by him because of the *non-remoteness* of their connection.

According to Prof. Rapson and others this Śātakarṇi must be Pulumāyi himself and in support of this view a Kanheri inscription is cited. We quote in extenso Prof. Rapson's remarks : "This inscription is fragmentary, and its exact purport is uncertain. The queen's name is missing, but she is described as 'the queen of Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śrī-Sātakarṇi, descended from the family of Kārdamaka kings. She was almost certainly described as (the daughter) of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra." There can be little doubt that the Vāsiṣṭhī-putra here mentioned is Pulumāyi, and that the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra is Rudradāman. This donation was recorded by the minister Sateraka." In the inscription, however, only Mahākṣatrapa- Ru • putrya (h) is found. Bühler thought that the name of the great kṣatrapa was Rudra (Indian Antiquary, 1883, p. 272). This suggestion of Bühler may after all be correct. But the two important inferences that Prof. Rapson makes from the inscription, viz., that the Vāsiṣṭhīputra here mentioned is Pulumāyi, and that the mahākṣatrapa Rudra is Rudradāman himself is purely conjectural. There is nothing in the record to sustain it and as a matter of fact Prof. Rapson himself confesses the record to be uncertain in purport. Again is it not rather surprising that *one should call his son-in-law as being non-remote in connection* ? As a matter of fact, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thought that the reading is not correct, and translated the passage as 'remoteness of connection.' His translation has much to commend itself. It is in accordance with Sanskrit idiom and usage. *The one singular passage cited in the lexicon of Roth and Bohtlingk is not sufficient to outweigh common construction.* But even conceding that the expression means what Bühler understood by it, the premise will not certainly hold the weight of Prof. Rapson's inference. The expression in the Kanheri inscription may stand for Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman and Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasiṃha. So here is a difficulty at the outset. But again there is the difficulty in identifying Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Pulumāyi. The metronymic is doubtless the same in both. But in the inscriptions of Pulumāyi nowhere else we have got the form Sātakarṇi. This is rather strange. Moreover we have to remember that the inscription was set up by the queen with the help of the confidential minister who, it can be conceded, must have known the name of his royal master. The suggestion of Prof. Rapson is not, however, impossible. *It will be methodologically wrong to make a statement like that.* But if because it might not be impossible, we hold that it is likely, then at this rate we can build any historical edifice we like. The new chronological order proposed by us raises no such difficulty. We cannot, however, in view of the vagueness and meagreness of the data at our disposal definitely say who was the husband of the daughter of the mahākṣatrapa Rudra who is called Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi in the inscription of his queen. That he is not Śrī Yajña is certain, but from the peculiar way in which their relationship is expressed it is probable that he was in some way connected with Śrī Yajña and may possibly be his brother and connected in his rule. It is tempting, however, to identify him with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Catarapana Śātakarṇi, of whom we have an inscription at Nanaghat dated in his 13th year. Pandit Bhagavanlal supposed this king to be the father of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña. But Prof. Rapson is almost certain that this cannot be. He however, observes, "The Pandit was, no doubt, correct in his estimate of the period to which the inscriptional characters belong ; but it is impossible to determine whether this king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Catarapana Śātakarṇi is a member of a dynasty otherwise unknown......"

Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña seems to be the last great king of the Sātavāhana family. The reverses which he suffered at the hands of the W. Kṣatrapas prove fatal to them and they could not any more recover from the shock fully. His inscriptions are found in Andhradeśa, at China (Cīna), in the Kistna district (year 27), in Mahārāṣṭra, at Nasik (year 7), and at Kanheri (undated and year 16). It is not open to question that he ruled over both Mahārāṣṭra and the Andhra country. It is noteworthy that he issued coins in imitation of the Śakas of Ujjain. This fact, according to Vincent Smith, probably points to his victories over the latter and this inference of Smith is further, strengthened by the fact that his coins are found in Gujrat, Kathiawar, East Malwa, Aparānta, the Central Provinces and the Kṛṣṇa district.

But it should be noted that the large distribution of his coins does not conclusively prove any territorial sovereignty. The find-places of his inscriptions should alone be regarded as the regions over which he certainly held sway.

I should like to notice here one fact which had inadvertently been omitted in course of my discussion. This fact is cited to prove that the dates of Nahapāṇa should be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri sums up the argument thus: "The theory of those who refer Nahapāṇa's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar and others that a Nasik inscription of Nahapāṇa refers to the gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas who could not have ruled in India before the first century A.D." This interpretation of the word 'kuṣāṇa' occurring in the Nasik inscription is exceedingly doubtful. M. Senart and others deny that the word can mean the Kuśāṇas. And even if it be taken to refer to the Kuṣāṇa coinage, it certainly does not affect the date of Nahapāṇa which we have proposed. It is well known that Vima Kadphises issued an extensive gold coinage and if Kaniṣka's dates be referred to the Śaka era, there can be no difficulty in assigning Nahapāṇa to the period c. 60 A.D.

HARI CHARAN GHOSH

The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas*

In old works the Lokāyatikas are mentioned as a sect distinct from the Kāpālikas. Guṇaratna, a fourteenth century commentator, however, identifies the Kāpālikas with the Lokāyatikas. We shall see how these two sects were gradually amalgamated.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa refers to a class of people of ancient origin who were free to live wherever they liked unworried by conventions, pure at heart and blameless in action. Virtue or vice they had none. They lived in an atmosphere of perfect freedom in which man can move without the fear of conventional dogmas of religion and social usage.[1] These people were probably the forefathers of the Lokāyatikas. The vedicists were the unquestioning followers of the vedic injunctions. These two extreme schools of thought flourished side by side, one always opposing the other. Along with these two we find another sect which was neither avowedly religious like the vedicists nor absolutely non-religious like the free men. The followers of this sect observed religious practices not for the purification of the self as a step to Mokṣa but for attaining objects of the senses—enjoyment being their sole end. They were the Śiśnadevas and the Vāmadevas. We cannot say with certainty who these Śiśnadevas or the Vāmadevas originally were. Some maintain that they owe their origin to the barbarous tribes of the non-Aryan group. We can, however, go so far as to say that they did not possess the spirit of the true Aryans. They adopted the religious practices of the vedicists as a means to the realisation of their end—sensualism, which was all that they stood for. The Aryan spirit on the other hand was bold and direct.

The Śiśnadevas were those who worshipped the Phallus. Being fond of sensual enjoyment alone they had no real faith in the Vedas.[1] The Chāndogyopaniṣad mentions a particular form of worship, the Vāmadevavrata, according to which the devotee could enter into sex-relationship with any woman and with any number of them.[2] He who is initiated into the Vāmadeva Sāman need have no restraint in the matter of sexual intercourse. These Vāmadevavratins, if not the Śiśnadevas, were probably the forefathers of the Kāpālikas. Sensualism in connection with religious rites was the main characteristic of this school, which later on came to be known as a sect of the Śaivas of the left hand order. Much as their names and practices resemble one another we are not sure if the Śiśnadevas and the worshippers of the Liṅga had any distinct connection with each other. Nor are we quite sure if any such connection actually existed between the Vāmadevas and the Vāmācārins who indulged in sexual pleasure under cover of religion.

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[1] यथेच्छावासनिरताः सर्वबाधाविवर्जिताः ।
शुद्धान्तःकरणाः शुद्धाः सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मलाः ।
धर्माधर्मौ न तेषाञ्चा नोत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥

Viṣṇupurāṇa, I. 6. 12 & II. 1. 26.

There is evidence to show that the non-religionists passed through five distinct stages of development in the course of their evolution. In the initial stage they were pure at heart, blameless in action and free from all conventions, having neither virtue nor vice. In the second stage they developed a spirit of intolerance and opposition accepting the authority of none, yet having no positive problem of their own to solve.[3] The third stage revealed some positive theories—Svabhāvavāda,[4] recognition of perception as a source of knowledge[5] and the theory of Dehātmavāda.[1] It was at this stage that they came to be known as the Lokāyatas. In the fourth stage an extreme form of hedonism which was due perhaps to the corruption brought about by their unchartered freedom formed the most important feature of this school. Gross sensual pleasure superseded pure bliss which the Lokāyatikas enjoyed so long. License replaced liberty. It was now that they got the designation of Cārvāka and preached the gospel of—"Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we may die".[2] From this time forward the non-religionists leaned gradually towards spiritualism. Being severely attacked by the spiritualists, they developed the theory of Dehātma-vāda and tried gradually to identify the sense-organs, breath, and the organ of thought as well with the self.[3] At this stage they even accepted inference, though in a restricted sense, as a source of knowledge,[4] and did not deny

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[1] शिश्नेन दीव्यन्ति क्रीडन्ति इति शिश्नदेवाः अब्रह्मचर्या इत्यर्थः—सायणः

शिश्नेन नित्यमेव प्रकीर्णाभिः स्त्रीभिः साकं क्रीडन्त आसते श्रौतानि कर्माणि उत्सृज्य—दुर्गा०.

[2] न काञ्चन परिहरेत् तद्व्रतम्—II. 13, 1, 2.

[3] Sammatitarkaprakaraṇa—सर्वत्र पर्यनुयोगपराण्येव सूत्राणि बृहस्पतेः ।

Nyāyamañjarī—

न हि लोकायते किञ्चित् कर्त्तव्यमुपदिश्यते ।
वैतण्डिककथैवासौ न पुनः कश्चिदागमः ॥

[4] अपरे लोकायतिकाः स्वभावं जगतः कारणमाहुः स्वभावादेव जगद् विचित्रमुत्पद्यते स्वभावतो विनि-वर्त्तते च तदाह्यं—

यः कण्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणाञ्च ।
माधुर्यमिक्षौ कटुताञ्च निम्बे स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम् ॥

Bhaṭṭa Utpala's com. on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, I, 7.

[5] Sammatitarkaprakaraṇa—प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणम् ।

[1] शरीरमात्मा—शाबरभाष्ये।

देह एवात्मा—

चैतन्यविशिष्टः कायः पुरुषः—श्रीधरनीलकण्ठमधुसूदनादयः गीताव्याख्यानावसरं।

[2] काम एवैकः पुरुषार्थः—नीलकण्ठः।

यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेत् etc.

[3] Advaitabrahmasiddhi—

केचित् शृणोमि जिघ्रामि स्वादयामि स्पृशाम्यहम्।
इतीन्द्रियाणामात्मत्वं प्रतीयन्ते ततोऽधिकाः॥
केचिच्छ्वसामि जीवामि क्षुधितोऽस्मि पिपासितः।
इत्यादि प्रत्ययबलात् प्राणमात्मेति मन्वते॥

[4] Nyāyamañjarī—सुशिक्षिततराः प्राहुः द्विविधमनुमानम्। किञ्चिदुत्पन्नप्रतीति किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यप्रतीतीति। ईश्वराद्यनुमानम् उत्पाद्यप्रतीति।

तत्र धूमानुमानादेः प्रामाण्यं केन नेष्यते।
यत्त्वात्मेश्वरसर्वज्ञपरलोकादिगोचरम्।
अनुमानं न तस्येष्टं प्रामाण्यं तत्त्वदर्शिभिः॥

Purandara—लोकप्रसिद्धमनुमानं चार्वाकैरपीष्यत एव। यत्तु कैश्चिल्लौकिकं [illegible]-मुच्यते तन्निषिध्यत इति।

Sarvamatasangraha —इदमत्र चुम्बितं [illegible] [illegible] तत्र भाव-भवति प्रत्यक्षमूलत्वाविश्वासम्। लोकयात्रानिर्वाहकप्रत्यक्षं धूमाद्यनुमानमिष्यते न पुनः [illegible]-मतीन्द्रियमनुमानमिति।

the existence of Ākāśa or ether as the fifth element.[1] In the fifth stage they came to be at one with the Buddhists and the Jains in opposing the vedicists and got the common designation of Nāstika. At this last stage all anti-vedic schools came under one head—the Lokāyata.

The sect which allowed enjoyment of women for religious purposes introduced gradually the drinking of spirituous liquor and eating of meat, into their religious rites. In course of time the advocates of this school became the worshippers of Rudra, the terrible god, and began to carry one half of a human skull as a cup from which to eat food and drink wine. A garland of skulls formed an invariable decoration of the members of this sect. They used to dance about with a long chain of the bones of the dead flung round their neck and thus assumed a fierce appearance.

The earliest references to the Kapālins, or the skull-bearers, are to be found in the Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad.[2] Here the vedicists use freely such abusive epithets as thieves with regard to them. They are called—'Taskaras'. This is due, most probably, to the fact that the real purpose of the Kāpālins was not to practise religion but to enjoy sensual pleasure under the mask of religion. They are mentioned here along with the Bārhaspatyas who also are similarly condemned.

Next we meet them as the Śaivas,[3] worshipping Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā in their terrific forms wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offerings of wine for their propitiation ;[4] or as the Buddhists worshipping Buddhakapāla (a

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[1] Guṇaratna—केचित्तु चार्वाकैकदेशीया आकाशं पञ्चमं भूतमभिमन्यमानाः पञ्चभूतात्मकं जगदिति निगदन्ति ।

[2] अथ ये चान्ये हथाकषायकुण्डलिनः कापालिनः......तैः सह न संवसेत् । प्रकाशभूता ह्येते तस्करा अस्वर्ग्या इत्येवं ह्याह । Maitrī Upaniṣad, VII, 8.

[3] शैवाः कापालिकाः परे—*Śiva Purāṇa Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*, II, 24. 177.
शैवाः कापालिकाश्चेति—*Brahmasūtra*, II, 2. 37.
Vācaspati Miśra, Govindānanda, Ānandagiri, etc.

[4] Prabodhacandrodaya, II, 12, 13.—
नरास्थिमालाकृतचारुभूषणः
श्मशानवासी नृकपालभाजनः । etc.

Buddhist deity) associated with his śakti, Citrasena, held in close embrace. The figure of Buddhakapāla presents a fierce appearance with three blood-shot-eyes rolling in anger, a distorted face, canine teeth, ornaments made of bones, a garland of severed heads and in an attitude of menacing dance. The hair on his head rises upwards like flames of fire. The god is four-armed. In his hands are shown the Kartrī, the Kapāla, the Damaru, and the Khaṭṭāṅga.[1] At this stage we meet another Kāpālika leader named Kapāla-pāda who was a Śūdra by caste and whose followers were all yogins bearing skulls.

The images of the deities are the creation of their devotees, and the devotees imitate their deities as closely as they can. Thus there is a close agreement between the characteristics of the deities and their devotees. The Kāpālikas bear skulls as their deities do.

Huen Tsang, Mahendravikrama, Bhavabhūti, Śaṅkara, Kṛṣna Miśra, Mādhavācāryya and Ānandagiri, have all left accounts of Kāpālikas as a horrible and demoniacal sect feared by all. Being condemned and feared by the villagers, the members of this sect preferred to renounce the world, bear matted hair, use tiger's skin as garment and bed, besmear their bodies with the ashes of burnt up corpses and live in caves or rocky places. After fasting they

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मस्तिष्कान्त्रवसाभिघारितमहामांसाहुतिर्जुह्वताम्
वह्नौ ब्रह्मकपालकल्पितसुरापानेन नः पारणा ।
सद्यः कृत्तकठोरकण्ठविगलत्कीलालधारोज्ज्वलै-
रर्च्यो नः पुरुषोपहारबलिभिर्देवो महाभैरवः ॥

Mattavilāsa—

पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमीक्षितव्यं
ग्राह्यः स्वभावललितो विकृतश्ववेशः ।
येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षवर्त्म
दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान् स पिनाकपाणिः ॥

Śaṅkaravijaya of Mādhava—

शूली त्रिपुण्ड्री पुरतोऽवलोकी कङ्कालमालाञ्चितगात्रभूषः ।
संरक्तनेत्रो मदघूर्णिताक्षः etc.

[1] चितिभस्मपूर्णकलेवरः नरकपालमालालङ्कृतगलः भालदंश्ररचितकज्जलरेखः । सकलकेशरचितजटाभारः व्याघ्रचर्मरचितकटिसूत्रकौपीनः कपालशोभितवामकरः शम्भो भैरव अहो कालीश इति मुहुर्मुहुर्जल्पन् ।

Śaṅkaravijaya of Ānandagiri

drank liquor from the skulls of Brahmans. Their sacrificial fires were fed with the brains of human beings; and the lungs of human victims covered with fresh blood gushing out of the deadly wounds in their throats were the offerings by which they appeased the terrible god Mahābhairava. They practised yoga and were supposed to possess supernatural powers. For example, they could control Harihara and the other great and ancient gods, stop the course of the planets in the heavens, submerge in water the earth with its mountains and cities, and drink up the waters of the oceans in a moment. They had the power to move about in the air.[1] They possessed also the eight siddhis.[2]

The Kāpālikas strive to attain various supernatural powers as their aim is to attain sensuous pleasure. According to some philosophers the state of salvation is no better than that of a piece of inanimate and insensible stone. The Kāpālikas in opposition to this view maintain that a state of salvation in which there is no sense of pleasure should not be aimed at.[3] Exactly the same view is attributed to the Cārvākas by the author of the Naiṣadha Kāvya.[4] The difference between the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas lies in the means and not in the end. The Kāpālikas suggest some religious rites for attaining pleasure. They hold that pleasure exists in the objects of desire. The founder of the Kāpālika school assures that a devotee having attained salvation, becomes a Śiva and enjoys

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[1] हरिहरसुरज्येष्ठश्रेष्ठान् सुरानहमाहरे वियति वहतां नक्षत्राणां रुणध्मि गतीरपि ।
सनगनगरीमम्भः पूर्णां विधाय महीमिमां कलय सकलं भूयस्तोयं क्षणेन पिबामि तत् ॥
Prabodhacandrodaya, III, 14.

[2] अणिमा लघिमा व्याप्तिः ईशित्वं वशित्वं कामावसायिता प्राकाम्यं महिमा ।

[3] Prabodhacandrodaya, III, 16:
इष्टं क्वापि सुखं विना न विषयैरानन्दबोधोज्झिता जीवस्य स्थितिरेव मुक्तिरुपलावस्था कथं प्रार्थ्यते ।
पार्वत्याः प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानन्दमालिङ्गितो मुक्तः क्रीड़ति चन्द्रचूड़वपुरित्यूचे मृड़ानीपतिः ॥

[4] Naiṣadhacarita, XVII, 75.
मुक्तये यः शिलात्वाय शास्त्रमूचे सचेतसाम् ।
गोतमं तमवेक्ष्यैव यथा वित्थ तथैव सः ॥

The man who has prescribed the Śāstras to show the way to salvation as one calculated to make animate beings inanimate and insensible like stones is surely Gotama—the most bovine.

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the pleasure arising from the company of excellent beauties like Pārvatī. Their aim is Kāmasādhana—they are the hedonists.[1]

Next we come across in the Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja a peculiar class of Kāpālikas bearing no Kapāla. Probably as a reaction against the cruelty and ugliness of their own practices, the Kāpālikas, through the influence of the Vedicists became divided into two sections. One section stepped back and brought a more healthy tone to their school. They gave up the horrible and demoniacal aspects of their rituals, and discarded the very Kapāla, from which the term Kāpālika is derived. In Rāmānuja's account we find that a man who knows the essence of the six marks and who is skilful in the use thereof attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul as seated on the female organ. These Kāpālikas, according to Rāmānuja, are an anti-vedic sect.[2] They differed from the skull-bearers only in the means. They still agreed as regards the end, viz., Kāmasādhana.

The other section of the Kāpālikas who did not approve of this retrograde step continued to bear skulls with their horrible and demoniacal practices. But they were no longer called the Kāpālikas. They got by this time a more hated name Kālāmukha or Kālavadana. The Kāpālikas lost their Kapālas but continued to hold the old designation. The Kālāmukhas continued to hold the skull but lost their old designation of Kāpālika.[3]

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[1] Bṛhaspati Sūtra, II, 6. कापालिकमेव कामसाधने।

[2] Śrībhāṣya, II, 2. 35-38.

सर्वे चैते वेदविरुद्धां तत्त्वप्रक्रियामैहिकामुष्मिकश्रेयःसाधनकल्पाश्च कल्पयन्ति। निमित्तोपादानयोर्भेदं निमित्तकारणञ्च पशुपतिमाचक्षते। तथा निःश्रेयससाधनमपि मुद्रिकाषट्कधारणादिकं यथाहुः कापालाः—

मुद्रिकाषट्कतत्त्वज्ञः परमुद्राविशारदः।
भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वाणमृच्छति॥
कण्ठिका रुचकञ्चैव कुण्डलञ्च शिखामणिः।
भस्म यज्ञोपवीतञ्च मुद्राषट्कं प्रचक्षते॥
आभिर्मुद्रितदेहस्तु न भूय इह जायते।

[3] Śrībhāṣya, II, 2. 35-38:

तथा कालमुखा अपि कपालपात्रभोजनशवभस्मस्नानतत्प्राशनलगुडधारणसुराकुम्भस्थापनतदाधारदेवपूजादिकमैहिकामुष्मिकसकलफलसाधनमभिदधति। रुद्राक्षकङ्कणं हस्ते जटा चैका च मस्तके। कपालं

We have seen that in the fourth and the fifth stages of development of the Lokāyatikas, the Lokāyatika or non-religionist sect became very licentious. They lost their purity of heart and an anti-vedic attitude became their main characteristic. All oppositionists of the Vedas were known as the Nāstikas, and the Nāstikas were identified with the Lokāyatikas.[1] They were against vedic sacrifices of animals but they lost strength gradually and leaned towards spiritualism.

The new dispensation mentioned by Rāmānuja avoided all cruel and abominable rites. It is, therefore, an anti-vedic sect with sensual pleasure as the end of life. The members of the sect used to meet like the Lokāyatikas once a year at a particular place and to enjoy to their heart's content all sorts of pleasures without any let or hindrance. Like the Vāmdevavratins of old the Kāpālikas of this stage used to come in sensual contact with any woman irrespective of rank and nearness of kin. The Lokāyatikas who were in their primitive stages pure at heart and blameless in action now became degraded. Thus with the degradation of the Lokāyatikas and the partial purification of the Kāpālikas these two sects were brought almost to the same level and identified themselves with each other. Guṇaratna, the

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भस्मना स्नानमित्यादि च प्रसिद्धं शैवागमेषु। तथा केनचित् क्रियाविशेषेण विजातीयानामपि ब्राह्मण्यप्राप्तिमुत्तमाश्रमप्राप्तिश्चाहुः। दीक्षाप्रवेशमात्रेण ब्राह्मणो भवति क्षणात्। कापालं व्रतमास्थाय यतिर्भवति मानवः॥ *Vāmanapūrāṇa*—तृतीयं कालवदनम्।

[1] Manu II, 11—नास्तिको वेदनिन्दकः।

Darśanāṅkura—

नास्ति वेदोदितो लोक इति येषां मतिः स्थिरा। नास्तिकास्ते............॥
अवैदिकप्रमाणानां सिद्धान्तानां प्रदर्शकाः।
चार्वाकाद्याः षड्विधास्ते ख्याता लोकेषु नास्तिकाः॥

Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī—

अहिंसा परमो धर्मः पापमात्मप्रपीड़नम्। अपराधीनता मुक्तिः स्वर्गोऽभिलषिताशनम्॥ स्वदारपरदारेषु यथेच्छं विहरेत् सदा। गुरुशिष्यप्रणालीश्च त्यजेत् स्वहितमाचरन्।

Ślokavārtika—

प्रायेणैव हि मीमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता। तामास्तिकपथे कर्त्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया॥

commentator of the Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, refers to this identification.[1]

In the time of Bṛhaspati of Arthaśāstra fame these two sects were clearly distinct. The Lokāyatikas were Ahetuvādins or Akriyavādins[2] the followers of the doctrine of non-causation. According to this doctrine which was propounded by Brahmaṇaspati or Bṛhaspati, something comes out of nothing—the caused comes out of the uncaused—असत: सदजायत. This leads to the supposition that the self is Niṣkriya, or passive, and therefore remains unaffected by actions, good or bad—Nāsti sukṛtaduṣkṛtakarmaṇāṃ phalaṃ vipākaḥ,[3] the universe is self caused and self generated, and there is no retribution of action.

But the Kāpālikas are not so. They are not the Akriyavādins. They practise religion as a means to an end. According to them Śiva is free from stain and is the supreme agent. No action however repugnant to the moral standard of the world or of the Vedas really clings to Him. The besmearing of His body with the ashes of burnt up corpses together with similar other practices is certainly antivedic. But inspite of this he is free from demerit. On those who have discovered the actual presence of Śiva, the divine spirit, in themselves, the god Śiva confers the power to move in the sky and to have other miraculous powers. According to them Prakṛti is Upādāna kāraṇa and Śiva is Nimitta kāraṇa. This view of the Kāpālikas shows that they were not Ahetuvādins. Religious practices were no end in themselves but merely means. When they gave up Kriyā and became engaged in sensualism they became at one with the Lokāyatikas.

The ugly side of the Kālāmukhas when further developed took a distinct shape and came to be called the Aghorins, the Aghora-panthis or the Kerāris, to whom the human brain was the most delicious morsel and who were considered as Epicurean cannibals. Their predecessors, the skull-bearing Kāpālikas were not apparently as shameless and abominable as these Aghorins. The skull-bearers used to eat flesh and drink wine but always refrained from eating dead carcasses. The Aghorins on the other hand used to take delight in eating dead carcasses and surrounding themselves with filth and foul things of the most ugly and revolting nature.

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[1] प्रथमं नास्तिकस्वरूपमुच्यते—कापालिका भस्मोद्धूलनपरा योगिनो ब्राह्मणाद्यन्त्यजाताश्च केचन नास्तिका भवन्ति। ते च जीवपुण्यपापादिकं न मन्यन्ते। चतुर्भूतात्मकं जगदाचक्षते।......ते च मद्यमांसे भुञ्जते मात्राद्यगम्यागमनमपि कुर्वते। वर्षे वर्षे कस्मिन्नपि दिवसे सर्वे संभूय यथाकामनिर्गमं स्त्रीभिरभिरमन्ते। धर्मं कामादपरं न मन्वते तन्नामानि चार्वाका लोकायता इत्यादीनि।

[2] Sūtrakṛtāṅga—
क्रियाजीवादिपदार्थोऽस्तीत्यादिकं वदितुं शीलं येषां ते क्रियावादिनः। एतद्विपर्यस्ता अक्रियावादिनः लोकायतिकाः शाक्यादयश्च—तेषामात्मैव नास्ति। कुतस्तत्क्रिया तज्जनितो वा कर्मबन्ध इति।

[3] Jātakamālā.

On the basis of these antivedic practices of the school which is indifferent to Varṇāśramadharma and is looked down upon by the members of the Brāhmaṇical schools in all the stages of its career as Śiśnadevas, Kāpālikas, Śaivas, and Aghorins, some are very much inclined to infer that the sect sprang from the uncivilised people of the non-Aryan group.

It was possibly due to the influence of the Buddhists and the Jains that the skull-less Kāpālikas became more and more refined and gave up wine and meat, but still continued in their original habit of sensualism. This sensualism, too, in course of time, either through the influence of the primitive Bauddhas or the Vaiṣṇavas, was purged of its grosser aspect so prevalent among the skull-bearers and took a more refined shape, the end of which was much higher than mere sexual pleasures. The refined body utilised Kāma as a means to some higher end. These people did not care for the temporary and incomplete pleasure mixed with pain as did their predecessors or the Cārvākas. They aimed at the pleasure which is eternal, supreme and pure. These people were the Sahajiyās. They sacrificed Kāma for Prema. They agree with the Lokāyatikas in this that their end is pleasure, that they are antivedics, and that they believe that the material human body is all that should be cared for.[1] They agree with the skull-bearers in this that they employ women for religious purposes. Love for a woman with whom one is not bound by the tie of wedlock is their essential feature. Here

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[1] देहेर साधन हय सर्व्वतत्त्वसार—

Nigūḍhārthaprakāśāvali.

भजनेर मूल एइ नरवपु देह—

Amṛtarasāvali.

अक्खि डड्डा विश्व कड्, एथुमे मिति

Bauddha Gān O Dohā.

तदा च वस्तुन वस्तु। कथमीश्वर इष्यते सिद्धत्वाच्च—

Bauddha Gān O Dohā.

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they agree with the Vāmadevas, the Vāmācārins and the Kāpālikas.

The Tāntrikas, who are according to some a very modern sect, came into being as a class probably as the result of an effort to modify the Kāpālika mould of thought. They are perhaps a class of people of the Brāhmaṇical school who with a view to counteracting the evils of Kāpālikism sanctioned and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence, paying no heed to Varṇāśrama-dharma, and were thus able to influence the vedic doctrines to some extent. Thus, although the enjoyment of the senses may be recommended by the Tantrikas along with the skull-bearers and the non-religionists, the Tantrikas differ from them in their end. The end of the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas is Kāma or gross sensual pleasures, but the end of Tantrikism is to become Vīra, to attain full control over one's passions and to attain final liberation of the soul. It accepts Kāma as a means to an end which is much higher than sensual pleasures.

Buddha by his 'Pañcakāma-guṇā-diṭṭha-dhammanibbānavāda' refers almost to the same doctrine. Vātsyāyana of Kāmaśāstra fame also differs from the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas as regards the end. The ultimate aim of his work according to him is to teach the subjugation of senses.

Thus it appears that the Lokāyatikas, the Vāmadevas, the Śiśnadevas, the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas, the Aghorins, the Vāmācārins, the Sahajiyās and the Tantrikas all walk along the same track with slight differences.

Bright joy of everlasting sunshine was the creed perpetually present before the eyes of the Lokāyatikas, The year to them was a busy round of gay and pleasant festivals. In course of time through the influence of the vedicists who were chiefly pessimists the Lokāyatikas made it a rule to meet only twice a year for enjoying all sorts of pleasures with full freedom without any restrictions whatsoever. The Lokāyatikas being the organisers there was no touch of religion in these festivals. The festivals were known as the spring festival or वसन्तोत्सव[1] and the autumnal festival or कौमुदीमहोत्सव.[2]

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[1] Ratnāvalī of Srīharṣa, Abhijñānaśakuntala etc.

[2] Mudrārākṣasa, Kaumudīmahotsava nāṭaka (recently published in the Dakṣiṇabhāratī Sanskrit Series) etc.

In course of time, however, there was a further reduction of their festivals and the entertainment in spring alone survived. In this festival dance and song, flower and the red ochre, swimming and playing contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of gaiety and frivolity from which all sterner laws of sexual ethics were banished for the time being and men and women mixed together indiscriminately. In the next stage the vedicists tried to avail themselves of this festival in their own way. They introduced the worship of Madana and began to call it *Madanotsava* in which a mere touch of religion was introduced. As soon as the worship of Madana was introduced, the Lokāyatikas, who were the non-religionists, ceased to join this festival. Enjoyment they did want. But freedom was the thing which they loved. They did not like to be circumscribed by any religious feeling. The vedicists in their turn gradually transformed this festival into a religious observance. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa mentions a like observance in which Śiva and Pārvatī are concerned. Later on the Vaiṣṇavas gave it a new shape and a name. They placed Madanamohana in place of Madana. This is the *Dolotsava* of the Vaiṣṇavas..

The Lokāyatikas, however, did not join any religious festival but pursued their own course undeterred by all obstacles. They became at one with the Kāpālikas and continued to meet once a year at a place where extreme forms of lincentiousness prevailed. This idea of licentiousness, as we have already seen, does not owe its origin to the Lokāyatikas. It was the peculiar possession of the Kāpālikas. Similarly the circles or the Cakras of the Tantrikas, particularly of the lefthand order, and the Maṇḍalas of the Sahajiyās, owe their origin most probably to the annual meetings of the Kāpālikas with whom the Lokāyatikas joined later on. In Guṇaratna's time these annual meetings of the Kāpālikas became the common festivals of both the sects—the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas.

Now let us conclude this topic. We have seen that the Kāpālikas agreed with the Lokāyatikas in anti-vedic practices ; they agreed in lincentiousness. They had common annual festivals. They gave more importance to प्रत्यक्ष than to अनुमान[1]. They were the heretics or Pāṣaṇḍas condemned by the orthodox schools.[1] And for these reasons these two schools were identified with each other.

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[1] Lokāyata—नानुमानं प्रमाणं, प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणम् etc.
Kāpalika—प्रत्यक्षेहेतुवचनं निरर्थकम्, Mattavilāsa.

DAKSHINA RANJAN SHASTRI

A Short Chronology of Indian Astronomy

The ancient Indian astronomy had for its basis the religious ceremonies of the Hindus. In the early Vedic period each heavenly body represented a Divinity and so the study of Astronomy originated in the doctrine that the Supreme Being had assigned to the heavenly bodies some duties by which they became rulers of the affairs of the world, and that a knowledge of the Divine Will could be had by observing the order of their motions and the recurrence of times and seasons. The Hindus therefore watched with care all the phenomena of the heavens in order to perfect their calendar of festivals, etc. The Vedic sacrificial rites had a close connection with astronomical calculations, and so some amount of astronomical knowledge was obtained in India at the time when the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas were composed. It is from astronomical premises that scholars like

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[1] Bṛhaspati Sūtra—

यदा चाण्डाल उदारसुरामांसादिकामेच्छु, सदा कापालिकाभिधानपाषण्डी—II, 13.

लौकायतिकाभिधानपाषण्डी—II, 12.

लौकायतिकमसेनार्थं क्षिप्रं नश्यति तत्—II, 8.

कापालिकार्हतबौद्धाश्च—II, 9.

कापाली स्वग्रामगृहस्वजनैः परित्यक्तः सर्वलोकनिन्दितो नारकी भवति—II, 31.

एवं पाषण्डि संसर्गं मनसापि न कुर्य्यात्—II, 35.

लौकायतं कुतर्कञ्च प्राकृतं म्लेच्छभाषितम्। न श्रोतव्यं द्विजेनैतदधो नयति तद्द्विजम्।

Garuḍa Purāṇa, Pūrva Khaṇḍa, 98. 17.

कपालभस्मास्थिधरा ये ह्यवैदिकलिङ्गिनः।
ऋते वनस्थाश्रमाश्च जटावल्कलधारिणः।
अवैदिक क्रियोपेतास्ते वै पाषण्डिनस्तथा॥

Tilak, Dikṣit and Jacobi argue a great antiquity for the vedic writings.

The vedic year was twelve months of 30 days each, with an occasional intercalary month, "the thirteenth month fabricated of days and nights, having thirty members." (Atharva Veda xiii, 3, 8). There is no indication of any definite cycle, the five year cycle having appeared later. The year was also divided into two equal courses or ayanas, a northern course or Uttarāyaṇa beginning at the winter solstice and a southern course or Dakṣiṇāyana beginning at the summer solstice. In the Ṛg-veda two asterisms only are mentioned, viz., Maghā and Phālgunī; but in later vedic texts (A. V. xix, 7, 1-5) a complete list of the twenty-eight nakṣatras or asterisms is given. The list is headed by Kṛttikās or the Pleiades, which marked the vernal equinox of the vedic year. Jacobi proved that the vedic year commenced with the summer solstice. His arguments are based on the following rendering of a verse of the "Frog Hymn":—

"Those leaders of rites observe the institutes of the gods, and disregard not the season of the twelfth month as the year revolves and the rains return, then scorched and heated they obtain freedom."

Dikṣit,[1] from a passage of the Brāhmaṇas,[2] fixes the age of the Vedas at 3000 B.C. The words "they (the Kṛttikās) do not move from the eastern quarter while the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter" are taken by him to mean, definitely, that the asterism Kṛttikās (Pleiades), and no other asterism, was on the equator. He writes, "in my opinion the statement conclusively proves that the passage was composed not later than 3000 B.C." In vedic texts no definite mention is made of the planets, but some oriental scholars hold that the people of the Vedic age[3] had knowledge of the planets. Vedic astronomical facts are not accurate as it was not the intention of the Vedic writers to deal with astronomy directly and that it was only when religious rites demanded it, that they referred to astronomical facts.

The earliest formal Hindu astronomical work was the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. It is the name of certain works or classes of works, regarded as an auxiliary to the Vedas. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga[1] is a small metrical treatise containing a statement regarding the place of the winter solstice at some ancient date which gave rise to a good deal of comment and speculation. Its author intended to propound the doctrine of the cycle consisting of five years of 1830 apparent solar days. The year was tropical and began with the white half of the month Māgha and terminated with the dark half of the month Pauṣa (verse 5). The year which is the fifth part of the yuga contains three hundred and sixty-six days, six seasons, two ayanas (the northern and southern progress of the sun), twelve solar months (verse 28); while the sun accomplishes five tropical revolutions, the moon accomplishes sixty-two synodical and sixty seven periodical revolutions and the whole period comprises sixty-one sāvana months of 30 natural days each (verse 31); the yuga begins with the winter solstice at the new moon of Māgha, the new moon taking place in the first point of Śraviṣṭhā. This indicates that the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa was composed in the twelfth century B.C., a conclusion which has also been confirmed by the internal evidence from Bodhāyana Śrauta sūtra. The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa does not teach much of astronomy and it does not claim to do so. Max Müller remarks in this connection that "the object of this small tract is not to teach astronomy. It has a practical object which is to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the Vedic sacrifice."[2]

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[1] Indian Antiquary, 1895, xxiv, p. 245.

[2] Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 1. 2. 2-4.

[3] Bhāratiya Jyotiḥ Śāstra by S. B. Dikṣit; Our Astronomy and Astronomers by Jogesh Chandra Roy.

Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is followed by the astronomy of the Jainas. The only work on Jaina astronomy, now available, is Sūryaprajñapti. There is however evidence that two more works on Jaina astronomy were written, one called Candraprajñapti and the other Bhadrabāhavīya Saṃhitā of Bhadrabāhu. These two works are mainly known from quotations by later astronomers. Jacobi in his preface to the translation of the Kalpasūtra, remarks that the Bhadrabāhavīya Saṃhitā was mainly an astrological work. Bhadrabāhu was the religious preceptor of Candragupta and died in 298 B.C. Bhadrabāhu also wrote a commentary on Sūryaprajñapti and this is believed to be the first commentary on the work. The exact date of composition of Sūryaprajñapti is not known. Thibaut says that this book must have been written before the Greeks came to India, as there is no trace of Greek influence in this work. Its authorship is attributed to Mahāvīra. The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death is 527 B. C., but Jacobi says that Mahāvīra died in 462 B.C. Therefore, it is certain that Sūryaprajñapti must have been written in about 500 B.C. Weber points out that the doctrine propounded in the Sūryaprajñapti shows in many points an unmistakable resemblance with that contained in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga and it thus became manifest that the astronomical books of the Jainas do not only furnish information about the opinions held by a religious sect, but may, if rightly interrogated, yield valuable material for the general history of Indian ideas. According to the Sūryaprajñapti, the *yuga* begins with the summer solstice, at the moment when the moon is full in the beginning of Abhijit and the sun consequently stands at Puṣyā. The distinctive doctrine of the Jainas is the assumption of two different suns, two moons and two sets of constellations. In this connection, Colebrooke remarks,[1] "they (the Jainas) conceive the setting and rising of stars and planets to be caused by the mountain Sumeru and suppose three times the period of a planet's appearance to be requisite for it to pass round Sumeru and return to the place wherefrom it emerges. Accordingly they allot two suns, as many moons, and an equal number of each planet, star and constellation to Jambudvīpa ; and imagine that these appear on alternate days, south and north of Meru." This doctrine has been controverted by all later astronomers. Here also the yuga comprises five years of 360 days each, each year in its turn being divided into twelve months of 30 days each; in the Sūryaprajñapti this kind of year—commonly known as the sāvana year—is called the karma year or ṛtu year. The six days by which this year is shorter than the solar year are called atirātras. The one important point in which Sūryaprajñapti differs from the statement in the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is this that according to the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga the yuga begins with the winter solstice, at the moment when it is new moon, sun and moon being in conjunction in the beginning of the nakṣatra Dhaniṣṭhā, while according to the Sūryaprajñapti the yuga begins with the summer solstice, at the moment when the moon is full in the beginning of Abhijit and the sun consequently stands at Puṣyā. In his paper on Sūryaprajñapti, Thibaut in conclusion draws attention to the striking resemblance which the cosmological and astronomical conceptions of an old Chinese book called Tcheon-Pei (of which a complete translation was published by E. Biot in the Journal Asiatique, 1841, pp. 592-639) bear to the ideas on the same subject as expounded in the Sūryaprajñapti.

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[1] The text is given in Thibaut's article on Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga (J.A.S.B., 1877); Yājuṣa Jyotiṣa by Dvivedi and Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga by Lala Chotelal.

[2] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, p. 321.

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[1] Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

The history of Hindu Astronomy of the period from 500 B.C. (i.e., the approximate date of composition of Sūryaprajñapti) to 500 A.C. (i.e. the approximate date of Āryabhaṭa's writing) is generally called the dark age of Hindu Astronomy. Any work written during this period of 1000 years is not available to us. But it is not probable that this period was barren of any astronomical improvement and this science remained in a static condition in this country. References of astronomical knowledge prevailing in this period are found here and there in literary and philosophical works of that period. During this period of 1000 years probably the astronomical Saṃhitās and the older Siddhāntas were composed. Astronomy was stated to be one of the principal accomplishments of the Jaina priest in the Bhagavatī sūtra.[1] The date of the Bhagavatī sūtra is about 300 B.C. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of astronomy is considered necesssary for the Jaina priest for exactly the same purpose as it was for the Vedic priest, viz., to find the right time and place for the religious ceremonies. It is also observed by Śānti-candra gaṇa (1595 A. C.) in the preface to his commentary on the Jambudvīpa prajñapti. The Buddhist monks were at first advised to refrain from the study of astronomy[2] which was condemned as a low art (tiracchāna vijjā) as far as bhikṣus were concerned. Later on Buddha relaxed his opinion and made it a rule of conduct of the bhikṣus living in the woods that they must learn elementary astronomy. The incident which compelled him to change his mind is this: Once upon a time some robbers approached certain bhikṣus living in the forest and asked them, "with what constellation is the moon now in conjunction?" The bhikṣus could give no reply as they were ignorant of astronomy, being forbidden by religious injunction to learn astronomy. This incensed the robbers who beat the bhikṣus and went away. When Buddha came to know of this unfortunate incident, he made the following rule: "They (the bhikṣus living in forests) should learn the stations of the constellations, either in whole or in parts, and they should know the directions of the sky."[1] These instances prove beyond doubt that the science of astronomy was not in a static condition but was progressive during the period of 1000 years from 500 B.C. to 500 A.C. This is the period, therefore, when the astronomical Saṃhitās and the older Siddhāntas were written. The Jyotiṣa Saṃhitās are no longer extant, though Dr. Kern was known to have possessed a fragmentary manuscript of Garga Saṃhitā They are mainly known from citations by later astronomers. The authors of the two Saṃhitās, generally mentioned in the writings of later Hindu astronomers, are Parāśara and Garga. The precise period in which they lived is a vexed question. Paraśara's sayings have been quoted by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat Saṃhitā and also by his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala. According to the Nirukta, Parāśara was the son of Vasiṣṭha and according to the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa Parāśara was the grandson of Vasiṣṭha, and Parāśara, was the father of Vyāsa, the compiler of the Mahābhārata. Parāśara, therefore, must have lived just before the Mahābhārata was composed. Dikṣit and Jacobi from astronomical evidence have fixed the date of the Mahābhārata as 450 B. C. It has, for this reason, been asserted that Parāśara lived about 500 B.C. Garga, the writer of Garga Saṃhitā whose sayings have been cited by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat saṃhitā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[2] as a well-known astronomer. The description, which is given in the Mahābhārata of astronomer Garga, leaves no doubt as to the identification of the writer of Garga Saṃhitā with the Garga mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[3] Therefore, Garga also lived about 500 B.C. There is mention of two other Saṃhitās by Devala and Kāśyapa in the Śukrācārādhyāya of Bṛhat Saṃhitā, but these works seem to have been written much later than the Saṃhitās of Parāśara and Garga. Next comes the works on the Siddhāntas. Of the eighteen or twenty ancient astronomical works referred to by ancient Hindu writers, under the name of Siddhāntas, or "Established conclusions" nine are mentioned by Abul Fazel in the Institutes of Akbar, namely :—(1) Brahma Siddhānta, (2) Sūrya Siddhānta, (3) Soma Siddhānta, (4) Bṛhaspati Siddhānta, (5) Garga Siddhānta, (6) Nārada Siddhānta, (7) Parāśara Siddhānta, (8) Pulastya

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[1] Bhagavatī-sūtra, 90; Uttarādhyāyana sūtra, xxv, 7, 8, 38.

[2] Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. II, pp. 20ff.

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[1] Cullavagga, viii, 6, 3, in Vinaya Texts. Sacred Books of the East, xx, pp. 292-4.

[2] Gadāparva, 8, 14.

[3] Śalva parva, 38.

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Siddhānta and (9) Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta. Other Siddhāntas mentioned are the works of (10) Vyāsa, (11) Atri, (12) Kāśyapa, (13) Marīci, (14) Manu, (15) Aṅgiras, (16) Lomasa, (17) Puliśa, (18) Yavana (19) Bhṛgu and (20) Cyavana. The first is supposed to have been revealed by Brahmā the second by the sun, the third by the moon and the fourth by Bṛhaspati (Jupiter). All the other texts are supposed to have been composed by mortals, and of these few are now extant, they being principally known from citations of mathematical writers of later date. It is impossible to say with certainty which of the two principal astronomical works, the Brahma Siddhānta or the Sūryasiddhānta (Saurasiddhānta), is the more ancient, though the former is supposed to have been the earlier. Both of these works have undergone revision at different periods. Brahmagupta based his Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta (628 A.C.) on a revised edition of Brahmasiddhānta. Nṛsiṃha, the commentator of the Sūrya Siddhānta, affirms that Brahmagupta's rules are framed from the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, in which the Brahmasiddhānta is contained. Various other works of the same name are referred to as being anterior to the work of Brahmagupta ; such as the Brahma Siddhānta of Śākalya, which is regarded as one of the five systems from which Varāhamihira compiled his Pañcasiddhāntikā. The five Siddhāntas forming Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā are the Paitamaha (Brāhma), Vasiṣṭha, Romaka, Pauliśa, and Saura Siddhantas. Varāhamihira there also states his view as to their order in importance and accuracy, assigning the first place to the Sūrya Siddhānta, placing next the Romaka and Paulisa Siddhantas as about equally correct, and declaring the two remaining works to be greatly inferior to the three mentioned. In no case Varāhamihira has obliterated the characteristic features of the Siddhāntas he had to deal with, and that whatever distinguishes those works from one another in the text of the Pañcasiddhāntikā actually distinguished them also in their original form. The Surya Siddhānta of Varahamihira is the only one of the five Siddhāntas, which has come dow [illegible] our time, and therefore allows us to compare it with what Varāhamihira tells us about the Sūrya Siddhānta as known to him. A cursory survey of those chapters of the Pañchasiddhāntikā, which treat of the Sūrya Siddhānta, shows at once that the treatise of that name known to Varāhamihira agreed with the modern Sūryasiddhānta in its fundamental features. The methods of the two treatises are essentially the same and on the other hand, sufficiently different from those of the other Siddhāntas summarised by Varāhamihira, to ensure to the Sūryasiddhānta in its two-fold form a distinct position of its own.[1] Of the Paitāmaha Siddhānta Thibaut says,[2] "that the Paitāmaha Siddhānta, known to Varāhamihira, represents Hindu astronomy as not yet affected by Greek influences, and thus belongs to the same category as the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga, the Garga Saṃhitā, the Sūrya-prajñapti and similar works. From what Varāhamihira says about its contents it might be identified with the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga." The Romaka Siddhānta, as the name suggests, must have been an adapation from some Greek or Roman astronomical work. The author of the Romaka borrowed his fundamental period from the west ; the year of the Romaka, down to seconds, is the tropical year of Hipparchus or of Ptolemy who accepted the determination by his great predecessor. Thibaut has proved that there were issued several recasts of the original Romaka Siddhānta epitomised by Varāhamihira.[3] It, therefore, continued to be held in esteem which prompted its remodelling in order to make it harmonize with the altered state of opinion. But the Romaka Siddhānta was referred to by Brahmagupta in a decrying spirit and its followers were censured by him. The Pauliśa Siddhānta resembles in many respects the current Siddhāntas of the Hindus. Some European scholars believe that the Pauliśa Siddhānta is an adaptation of some work of Paulus Alexandrinus. Dr. Kern in his preface to the Bṛhat Saṃhitā says, "We have no right, whatever, to infer that Paulus Alexandrinus and Pauliśa are one and the same, for identity of name is too slender a ground specially when the name happens to be a common one." Further, the Pauliśa Siddhānta is an astronomical work based on mathematical calculations, whereas the work of Paulus Alexandrinus is mainly an astrological one. Thibaut says that it appears that the Pauliśa Siddhānta was a work following the same general methods as the Sūrya Siddhānta, Āryabhaṭa and all the later astronomers ; at any rate it agreed with the great majority of Hindu astronomical works in establishing a mahāyuga which contains an integral number of Sāvana days, etc. and of revolution of the planets.[4] He further

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[1] Thibaut, Introduction to Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. xii.

[2] Ibid., p. xx.

[3] Ibid., p. xxv ff.

[4] Ibid., p. xxxviii.

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says that in this work the new knowledge imported from the west was embodied. About the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta the Pañcasiddhāntikā gives only very scanty information. Varāhamihira places the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta, together with the Paitāmaha Siddhānta, in the lowest rank of the works whose tenets he reproduces. Thibaut says "that the methods in the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta are so crude and they so completely omit to distinguish between mean and true astronomical quantities that the Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta can hardly be included within scientific Hindu astronomy."

The last and the most important period of Hindu astronomy beginning with Āryabhaṭa (b. 476 A.C.) was a real advance in mathematical astronomy. Āryabhaṭa wrote two works on astronomy of which one—Āryabhaṭīya is now available. He based his work on the main principles laid down in the old Sūrya Siddhānta. He was profusely quoted by Brahmagupta and other subsequent astronomers. Āryabhaṭa believed in the diurnal motion of the earth. He was also the first among Hindu astronomers to explain thoroughly the planetary motions by means of epicycles. The father of Indian epicyclic astronomy,[1] as he is called, ascribed to the epicycles, by which motion of a planet was represented, a form varying from the circle to nearly an eclipse. Next came Varāhamihira who lived in the sixth contury A.C. He is mainly known as a compiler His astronomical works now in existence are Bṛhat Saṃhitā and Pañcasiddhāntikā. Bṛhat Saṃhitā is an astronomical as well as an astrological work and is supposed to be based on some ancient Saṃhitā. Pañcasiddhāntikā belongs to the class of the so-called Karaṇagranthas i.e. compendious astronomical treatises which do not set forth the theory of the subject at a comparative length as the Siddhāntas do, but merely supply a set of concise and often only approximately correct rules which suffice for the speedy performance of all the more important astronomical calculations.[2] Varāhamihira was the only one among Hindu writers on astronomy who thought it worth while to give an exposition of all the more important forms of astronomical doctrines current at his time and he gave them in the order of importance the five Siddhāntas whose teaching he summarizes are to be arranged. In the Pañcasiddhāntikā Varāhamihira remarks, "when the return of the sun took place in the middle of Aśleṣā, the tropic was then correct. It now takes place from Punarvasu". The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa made the year begin with the Winter solstice and this was in vogue at the time of Varāhamihira. He introduced a change in the year-beginning and made the list of Nakṣatras commence with Aśvinī. This modified year-beginning has since then been current in India. Another astronomer was Lalla who was probably a contemporary of Varāhamihira.[1] He wrote Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, an astronomical work based on the writings of Āryabhaṭa. Though he declares himself to be a disciple of Āryabhaṭa, he did not subscribe to his master's theory of earth's rotation and in its refutation he said, "If the earth is moving at a very rapid speed, why does not an arrow projected upwards fall on the western side of the projection? Why do not the clouds appear to move only towards the west? You cannot say that the earth is moving at a less speed, as it has to complete one revolution round its axis in 24 hours". Almost contemporary with Varāhamihira was an astronomer called Bhāskara. He was not the great astronomer Bhāskarācārya, the writer of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. This Bhāskara wrote two astronomical works, called Bṛhat Bhāskarīya and Laghu Bhāskarīya, based on the teachings of Āryabhaṭa. He took 444 Śaka year for the karaṇa year and must have, therefore, lived about 500 Śaka or about 578 A.C. He was at least anterior to Brahmagupta who censures Āryabhaṭa for some of the omissions in the latter's methods. Pṛthūdakasvāmin, the commentator of Brahmagupta, remarks in this connection that Brahmagupta was not just in censuring Āryabhaṭa as it was not his omission, but an omission of his disciples, Bhāskara and others (Bhāskarādīnāṃ bhavatu).[2] The great Bhāskarācārya also mentions some Āryabhaṭa's disciples, naming Prabhākara and others (Āryabhaṭaśiṣyāḥ Prabhākarādayaḥ). This Prabhākara is no other than the above named Bhāskara. The second Bhāskara did not call the first one Bhāskara as that might lead to confusion and therefore gave the synonym Prabhākara for Bhāskara. This was also a common practice in Sanskrit works. The next astronomer who came into prominence was Brahmagupta who wrote his famous work, Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta in 550 Śaka or 628 A.C., when he was thirty years old. Nṛsiṃha, the commentator of Sūrya Siddhānta, affirms that Brahmagupta's rules are framed from the Viṣṇudharmottra Purāṇa, in which the Brahmasiddhānta is contained. The above assertion is also confirmed by Pṛthūdakasvāmin, Brahmagupta's commentator, and Alberūnī. Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta was translated into Arabic by Mohammed Ibn Ibrahim Al-Fazari in 773 A.C. and the translation was known by the name of Sindhind. Another work of Brahmagupta, a Karaṇagrantha of the name of Khaṇḍakhādyaka, was translated into Arabic and goes by the name of Alarkand. It is necessary to mention in this connection that Brahmagupta maintained his karaṇa to be founded on Āryabhaṭa, or at any rate to give results equal to those to be derived from Āryabhaṭa; but it is curious that the dimensions of the epicycles and the positions of the apogees assumed in the Khaṇḍakhādyaka differ, all of them more or less, from those recorded in the Āryabhaṭīya. It is hence probable that the Āryabhaṭa whom Brahmagupta is supposed to have followed is a person entirely different from the famous Āryabhaṭa. He cannot be Āryabhaṭa II, the writer of Mahāsiddhānta, who was much posterior to Brahmagupta. Therefore it is probable that this Āryabhaṭa whom Brahmagupta followed must have been a third Āryabhaṭa anterior to Brahmagupta and posterior to Āryabhaṭa I. Brahmagupta refuted the theory of earth's rotation of Āryabhaṭa I and put forward as an argument that "if the earth moves a minute in a prāṇa, then whence and in what route does it proceed? If it revolves, then why do not lofty objects fall?" After Brahmagupta there was for some time dearth of eminent astronomers. The next astronomer of importance was Muñjāla living in the beginning of the tenth century A.C. He wrote his Karaṇagrantha, Laghu mānasa in 932 A.C. He must have been a very celebrated astronomer as he was mentioned by name and even in some points (specially in his methods of finding the precessional rate) followed by the great astronomer and mathematician Bhāskara. In the Laghu-mānasa Muñjāla states that the annual precession was 59·9007 seconds of arc. The next astronomer was Śrīpati. He also wrote an astrological treatise. His astronomical works are Dhīkoṭi, a Karṇagrantha, and a siddhānta called Siddhāntaśekhara. His exact date is not yet known, but this much is known that he was anterior to Bhāskarācārya and wrote his Siddhāntaśekhara about 962 Śaka or 1040 A.C. He gave an account of the peculiar doctrine of the Jaina astronomers who assumed two suns, two moons, two sets of stars and planets and the Meru to be of pyramidial shape. Just following Śrīpati was Bhojarāja, another astronomer not very much known. Dr. Bhaudaji says that Bhojarāja wrote a Karaṇagrantha called Rājamṛgāṅka, from which it is known that Bhojarāja who was the king of Dhāra, was born in 964 Śaka or 1042 A. C. The next astronomer was Śatānanda, who was prominent and popular with the Indian calendar makers. His work, Bhāsvatī based on the Sūryasiddhānta of Varāhamihira is a karaṇa grantha, a compendium, and is made much use of by the calendar makers. Its popularity with them is known by the saying "Bhāsvatigrahaṇe dhanyāḥ." Bhāsvati was written in 1021 Śaka or 1099 A.C. But the most celebrated among Indian astronomers was Bhāskara who lived in the twelfth century A.C., having been born in 1114 A.C. At the age of 36 he wrote his great work, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, divided into two parts, Golādhyāya and Grahagaṇitādhyāya. Besides this, he wrote at a much later period a Karaṇagrantha called Karaṇakutūhala, when he was 69 years old. Recently an astronomical work, a short treatise on the corrections of the moon's place called Bījopanaya[2] has been stated as a distinct astronomical work of Bhāskara. But from a perusal of the contents one may doubt if the work can at all be attributed to Bhāskara. There are passages in the Vāsanābhāṣya of the work which lead to this doubt. If this work is at all written by Bhāskara, it was never meant to be a separate treatise. It must be an appendix to Bhāskara's Siddhānta Śiromaṇi to which his well known Bījagaṇita and Pāṭīgaṇita are also appendices. Pandit Bāpudeva Śāstrī has given a brief account of Bhāskara's genius in J.A.S.B. of 1893. About Bhāskara Spottiswoode remarks—"That the penetration shown by Bhāskara in his analysis is in the highest degree remarkable; that the formula which he establishes and his method of establishing it, bear more than a mere resemblance to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy; and that the majority of scientific persons will learn with surprise the existence of such a method in the writings of so distant a period and so remote a region."

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[1] P. C. Sen Gupta, Āryabhaṭa—the father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. xviii.

[2] Thibaut, Introduction to Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. viii.

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[1] Lalla took 420 Śaka as his karaṇa year and as such he must have lived within 500 Śaka at the latest. But Dikshit says that Lalla was born in 638 A.C. or 560 Śaka; his argument are not convincing.

[2] Vide a paper by Dr. B. B. Datta on the two Bhāskaras, Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1930.

In conclusion, a few words are necessary to deal with the question of the foreign influence on Indian astronomy. This is a long disputed question and has been discussed thread-bare by the oriental scholars. Many scholars tacitly assume a Greek basis for the Hindu scientific astronomy. Thibaut in his Introduction to the Pañca Siddhāntikā has discussed this question at a considerable length and concludes that "the later Siddhāntas fall under one category, all of them, however much they differ in details, representing the modern phase of Hindu astronomy which is completely under the influence of Greek teaching." Alberūnī, Rodest, Weber, Colebrooke, Whitney and various Arab scholars have also dealt with this question from different points of view. The general hypothesis is the dependence of Hindu scientific astronomy on Greek teachings. Various facts have since then been found against this pre-conceived hypothesis and discussed at a great length. But the fundamental belief of the pro-Greek school has not yet been shaken. Some of the Arab writers, especially Al Fazari, the writer of Sind. hind, have expressed the view that the Greek and Hindu mathematicians drew their inspiration from a common source. It is, in this connection, worth while to consider the great Hebrew cabalist (Cabala, gabbalah) compendium, the *Zahar*, passages from which have been discussed by Günther ; since it is the opinion of many Hebrew scholars that the authors of the *Zahar* were influenced by Hindu writers, this fact may throw some light upon Hindu originality in astronomy. Bishop Séverus Sebokht of Nisibus (c. 650 A.C.) who would naturally have been expected to favour Greek claims, took up a quite contrary position and believed in the original and independent growth of Hindu Spherical astronomy. Since he was almost a contemporary of Brahmagupta, his testimony might have some special significance regarding this question of foreign influence on Indian astronomy. However, the final seal has not yet been put and it will require further researches on this subject to arrive at a conclusive decision regarding this question of Greek influence.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

VII

EVENTS CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH KING AŚOKA

Before handing over the charge of teaching to the Venerable Kāla,[1] the Venerable Dhitīka while dwelling in Kauśāmbī in the land of Mālava and suffering from sickness, imparted various instructions to the four classes of persons.[2] The bhikṣus of Vaiśālī thought that perfect instruction could not be obtained from an ailing Sthavira, so they did not betake themselves to him, and held that the ten improper measures,[3] practised by them, were according to the

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[1] Tib. Nag-po. in Buston is found Kahnava, which can be traced back to Kṛṣṇa.

[2] I.e. monks, nuns, lay disciples and female devotees ; cf. Pāli, catasso parisā.—Tr.

[3] In the Tibetan text of *Vinayakṣudraka* the ten improper acts are mentioned thus :

(1) the exclamation of surprise '*Aho*' ;
(2) to incite the bhikṣus to frivolities ;
(3) to dig with one's own band and to let others dig ;
(4) to mix and eat the salt consecrated for life whenever needed ;
(5) to go away one Yojana or a half, assemble there and eat, alleging it to be a journey ;
(6) to eat with two fingers the food which is (so small as) not to be left over ;
(7) to sip in intoxicating drink in the manner of a leech and seek excuse on the ground of sickness ;
(8) to mix one *droṇa* of sweet milk and one *droṇa* of sour milk and drink it out of time ;
(9) to make a new cushion without patching or mending an old and strong pillow of the size of Sugata-span (?) ;
(10) to place on the head of a Śramaṇa at the cross roads

Law, the Vinaya and the Doctrines of the Teacher. The Arahant Yaśa and 700 other arahants denounced them and arranged for the second collection of words (i.e. the Second Council) in the Vihāra of Kusumpurī,[1] of which king Nandin, who came of the family of the Licchavis, was the patron (*dānapati*). At the time of determination of the boundaries of the six cities,[2] 700 arahants, all of whom belonged to the region of Vaiśālī, had obtained the two sanctificatory stages of emancipation and were vastly learned.[3] The collection therefore is surely a partial one. As the essentials of this history may be very fully known from the *Vinayakṣudraka*[4] it has not been here described. That this collection took place at the time has been told by Bhaṭaghaṭī and Kṣemendrabhadra. In the Vinaya which is still existing in Tibetan, it is stated that 110 years after the demise of the Teacher the second collection, according to the tradition, took place and that the collection was made suited to one school. In the Vinaya of another school it is seen that the second collection was arranged 210 or 220 years after the demise of the Teacher. In order to ascertain here the right mean, one must take into consideration the fact that in some of the extant Indian historical works the Venerable

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one round begging bowl, filled with fragrant essence and sweet smelling incense, decorated with flowers, and to invite people to give gold, silver and jewels, telling them that great reward awaits such givers. Cf. Lassen, II, 84, Koppen, *Religion des Buddha*, p. no. 7.

Cf. Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, pp. 173ff. ; for the Pāli version of these ten breaches of the rules of discipline see Dutt's *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools*, pp. 226-7 ; La Valleé Poussin, *Le Muséon*, N.S., vi (1905); Ind. Ant. 37 (1908); *Mahāvaṃsa* (transl.) pp. 19-20.—Tr.

[1] In the text Kusma-puri. The name of the Vihāra is different in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, see Lassen II, 86. (The name is Vālikārāma—Tr.)

[2] It seems that this passage is not quite incorrupt. There were six cities besides Vaiśālī, from which places the Arhats assembled to take up the task of expulsion of bhikṣus.

[3] Schiefner has taken it be the proper name of Bahuśrutīya School. The Tib. is man-du-thos-pa, meaning 'vastly learned'. While the Tib. name for the School is man-thos.—Tr.

[4] Kanjur, vol. 11, leaves 323-330.

Dhitika and the others have been made contemporaries of Aśoka, and that after Sudarśana had passed out of existence and Aśoka died, the second collection was to have taken place. It (this discrepancy) is due to the faulty interpretation of the words of *Kṣudrāgama*: "When he gave over the teaching to Sudarśana, the elephants (i.e. the great beings) had entirely vanished out of existence, at that time 160 years had passed since the Nirvāṇa, etc. In Sanskrit *yadācit* through the power of word-combination can as well mean "at which time" as also "and at the time."[1] This passage one must have translated as "at which time." The Guru Paṇḍita said that if it is put as 200 years, etc. then a half-year has been calculated as a full-year and it should therefore be taken as 100 years. According to the adjusted[2] report of Paṇḍita Indradatta, it is said that Upagupta appeared 50 years after the Nirvāṇa of the victorious (One), but 110 years after the Nirvāṇa the hierarchical succession came to an end.[3] Then while speaking of the appearance of Aśoka, etc. he says obviously that as this is in contradiction with the prophecy and the sources of the adjusted tradition of Āryadeśa, although everything appears to have been properly mentioned, yet it is not credible.

In the east in the land of Aṅga lived a wise and very well-to-do householder, and in his house grew through the power of his deeds a tree from which fell jewel-fruits. As he was without any child, he used to bring offerings continually to the great god Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa, in consequence whereof the self-same Kṛṣṇa was born as his son. When he had grown up he became desirous of going out to sea. He then with 500 merchants, taking all equipments of a ship, went to the jewel-land and filled the ship with goods. In this way as he had gone to the sea six times and returned quickly with loaded ship without any difficulty, all regions were filled up with fame of the merchant as being endowed with great merits. At the time when his parents were dead and he had become a faithful devotee of the Venerable Dhitika many merchants came to him from the far north and requested him to go again to the sea. Although at first he declined saying that he would not go as he did not hear of anybody having loaded a ship for the seventh time, but on their persistent request he at last sailed and reached the jewel-island, loaded the ship with treasures and returned home. On an island of the ocean the merchants saw a green grove existing and so they went there to recuperate themselves. But they were caught there by Krauñca Kumārī, the foremost Rākṣasī of the Rākṣasī family dwelling in the sea. They then took refuge in the Venerable Dhītika. At that time the gods, who were their friends, informed the Venerable Dhītika, who came to the island through supernatural power. The Rākṣasīs, not being able to endure his glory, ran way, and the merchants returned happily to Jambudvīpa. At this place the merchants supplied the clergy of the four regions for three years with all requisites, and at last entered into the pristhood. They were ordained by the Venerable Dhītika and all of them soon attained the grade of Arhatship. Then on the passing away of Dhītika, the venerable Kṛṣṇa, who belonged to the family of of merchants joining the priesthood, took charge of the teaching; he delivered instructions to the four groups, and the acquisition of the four fruits suffered no interruption.

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[1] So Tāranātha thinks to be the cause; one notices therefrom how differently he uses from the Sanskrit in Sanskrit. *Yadācit* is primarily a Tibetan fabrication.

[2] Tib. gtam. gyi. sbyor. wa: German: Geschictsharmonie.—Tr.

[3] Tib. gtad. rabs. rdsogs. zin.—Tr.

At this time appeared Bhikṣu Vatsa[1] of Kasmira, of Brāhmaṇa caste, very wicked, but learned. He took pleasure at the Ātmaka theory, travelled over all regions, and turned the simple people into his bad teaching and thus raised a little dissension in the saṅgha. Therefore Dhītika collected the clergy of the four regions in Vihāra Puṣkariṇī, a part of the Maru land, the yakṣa Kapila providing them with the necessary sustenance, corrected the errors, and re-iterated the Anātmaka theory in the assembly of the monks. As three months passed, all the bhikṣus who were earlier converted by the Sthavira Vatsa to the Ātmaka theory, were compeletely purified, beheld the truth and at last, Sthavira Vatsa himself was converted to the unshakeable teaching.

Far off in the island of Siṃhala was the king Āsana-Siṃhakośa (Tib. khri-ldan-seṅ-geḥi. mtsod—Tr.). Once when he was in an assembly, a merchant of Jambudvīpa made over to him a wooden image of the teacher. As he asked what it was, the merchant recounted to him (the events) beginning from the Teacher up to the Venerable Kṛṣṇa of the dignitaries. Then the king wished to see the Venerable

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[1] Tib. gnas. pa. cf. Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, p. 62 of the German translation

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Kṛṣṇa as also to hear the excellent teaching and so sent a messenger. When this (messenger) came near the Venerable, the latter set out with a following of five hundred through the air by means of his supernatural power, whereupon the messenger held himself fast to the corner of the holy robe and let himself down on the border of Siṃhaladvīpa. As he sent the messenger before, the king came to meet him with others. He entered the chief city, where he diffused differently coloured rays of lights, shone forth and showed other wonders. On this island he preached the Law for three months, filled it with vihāras and clergymen, and made many partakers of the four fruits. Although the Teacher formerly had trodden over this island with his feet, the teaching after his death gradually disappeared, the Venerable Kṛṣṇa, however, greatly spread it afresh. After handing over the teaching to the Venerable Sudarśana, who came of the royal family, he vanished to the country of Kuśavana in the north. Now follows (the story of) Sudarśana.

In the west in the land of Bharukaccha, there was a kṣatriya Darśana, sprung of the Pāṇḍu line. He had extraordinary riches; his son was called Sudarśana. As he grew up, he became possessed of prosperity like that of the gods: he had 50 pleasure-gardens, 50 picked women, each of whom had 5 maid-servants and each of them again had five female playmates. He spent daily 5000 gold paṇas on flowers alone, not to speak of his other riches. Once when he had gone to the pleasure-garden, surrounded by that group, he saw the Arhant Śukāyana going on the way with numerous followers, became exceedingly faithful and bowed before him, and took his seat by his side. When the Arhant had taught him the Law, he obtained on that very seat the grade of an Arhant. When he asked for reception into the clerical order, the Arhant explained to him that that was not possible for one living as a householder, that the circumstances were not suitable and that he should inform his father beforehand. As he requested his father for permission to enter into the priesthood, his father flew into rage and wanted to put him in iron-fetters, but just at that moment he raised himself in the air, displayed the stream of light and showed other wonders. Thus he converted his father, who said: "O son, as you have attained such a high grade of virtue, enter into the priesthood and thereby give me pleasure." After he had entered the priesthood, he delivered the teaching to his father, who then realised the truth. Then he chose Kṛṣṇa as his Ācārya, and he lived in his company for a long time. Then Kṛṣṇa died and Mahāsudarśana began to discipline the four groups by means of his teaching.

At that time there lived, in the west in the country of Sindhu, a yakṣiṇī Hiṅgalākṣī of great strength and supernatural power. She was spreading epidemics in different regions. She obstructed the way of those who wanted to go away somewhere else. She appeared in a dreadful form, whereupon the people offered her daily a wagon-load of food drawn by six bullocks, one excellent horse, one man and one woman.[1] When Sudarśana came to know of this and also of the fact that the time to subdue her had come, he came to his place of residence after he had collected his alms in the city of Sindhu, and ate his food. She took him to be a Śramaṇa who had lost his way. When at last he poured out the water, with which he had washed his bowl in her house, she flew into rage and sent a shower of stone and weapon, which, however on account of his being absorbed in compassionate meditation (maitrībhāvanā—Tr.), he turned into a shower of flowers. Then through the power of the wish of the Venerable, all sides were set on fire and the yakṣiṇī herself was greatly terrified and sought for refuge to the Venerable. He taught her the Law, initiated her into the precepts, and from that time up to the present day no offering of flesh and blood was made to her. Further, Sudarśana knew that later on there would be no subduer, so he converted to the teaching 500 unbelieving Nāgas and Yakṣas. Thereafter the Venerable visited all the towns in the south, provided them with vihāras and monks. On many small islands he established the Buddha's teaching, and afterwards in Mahācīna and other lands he spread the teaching gradually and led innumerable living beings into bliss, and at last he vanished from existence into the "niravaśeṣa-nirvāṇadhātu."[2]

It is to be observed that the time of youth of king Aśoka corresponded to the last portion of the life of the Venerable Dhītika; the time of his sinful way of living with the time of the Venerable Kṛṣṇa; the time when he became Dharmarāja was the time when the Venerable Sudarśana protected the teaching; when Mahāsudarśana vanished out of existence, King Aśoka also died. From the Venerable Ānanda up to Sudarśana there are wellknown *avadānas*; their contents Kṣemendrabhadra had collected and described. This series (of teachers) protected the teaching perfectly and their teaching agreed with that of the teacher, the Buddha himself. Thereafter appeared, it is true, many Arhants but they did not perform things which fully agreed with Buddha's teachings. The seventh section, the events contemporaneous with king Aśoka.

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[1] A similar yakṣa-offering is mentioned in the biography o Śākyamuni, p. 298 (68).

[2] As restored from Tibetan. Schiefner renders it by "in dem restlosen Stoffe der Verdienstanhäufung".—Tr.

VIII

THE EVENTS AT THE TIME OF KING VIGATĀŚOKA

Of the eleven sons of king Aśoka, the most excellent was Kuṇāla,[1] whom a ṛiṣi had given this name on account of the similarity which his eyes had with those of the bird (named) Kuṇāla dwelling in the Himālayas. At the time when he had become master of all sciences, Tiṣyarakṣitā, the wife of king Aśoka, fell in love with him and wanted to seduce him artfully. But as he was pure and would not agree to it (her proposals), Tiṣyarakṣitā flew into rage. Later on when King Aśoka was suffering from diarrhœa and vomitting excrements, Tiṣyarakṣitā heard that just the same (illness) had happened to a common man of a mountain-village. She ordered his death, and when the stomach was cut open and examined, it was found out that a many-limbed ugly worm by going up and down caused the diarrhœa and vomitting. This worm did not perish by any medicine except when treated with a white garlic. Thereupon Tiṣyarakṣitā gave the king a white garlic as the remedy. Although the Kṣatriyas cannot eat white garlic, he was however allowed to take[2] for healing the sickness, and he soon recovered. At this the king vowed to grant her an excellent (boon). She said that she would ask for it not then but at some other time. Once upon a time in the north west in the Aśmaparānta country lying far off, king Gokarṇa revolted and the king's son Kuṇāla was sent there with an army for his subjugation. When he had subjugated the king, Tiṣyarakṣitā said to Aśoka : "O king, the time to grant me the boon has come now, give me the rulership for seven days." When he had granted her the same, she wrote an order to extract the eyes of Kuṇāla, sealed it with the stolen seal of the king and sent a messenger to Aśmaparānta.[1] Although the king of that place read the letter, he did not dare extract the eyes of Kuṇāla. When however Kuṇāla himself read the letter and became aware of the command of the king as also of the fact that one was ready to extract the eyes, he ordered accordingly the man to take out one eye and place it in his hand. What happened was made known to him before by an Arhant (that it would so come to pass). He had been many times initiated into the teaching which had the doctrine of impermanence as its beginning and which also brought firmness to his mind, As a result thereof, he became a Śrotāpanna as soon as he saw the eye. After dismissing his servant, he took a lyre and wandered through different countries, and at last came to the Elephant controller at Pāṭaliputra. There the elephant gifted with insight recognised him and showed him respects. The men could not recognise him ; on the daybreak the elephant guards asked him to play on the lyre. And as he had played the melody Gamaka on the lyre the king came to know from the top of his palace that the voice was similar to the voice of his son ; on the morning he had enquiries made and learnt the actual state of things. When he had found out the cause, the king flew into rage, ordered Tiṣyarakṣitā to be locked up and burnt in the Lākṣā house. But Kuṇāla dissuaded him from it and he declared the true-wish : 'If I who love Tiṣyarakṣitā and my son in equal manner, and have no hatred in my mind, then let the eyes be as before' ; and Kuṇāla obtained his eyes better than before. He than entered into the priestly office and obtained the Arhant grade.[2] Therefore the rulership could not devolve on him but his son Vigatāśoka was selected for the rulership. At this time appeared in the kingdom Oḍiviśa, the brāhmaṇa Rāghava having great wealth ;

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[1] See Burnouf, Introduction, p. 403 f. Hiouen Tsang, Memoirs, vol. I, p. 154 f.

[2] Burnouf, *loc. cit.*, p. 150.

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[1] In the other recensions of this story, it is known as Takṣaśilā which is restored from Tibetan rdo. hdsog (stone-accumulation).

[2] This story of Kuṇāla with slight variations is found also in the *Divyāvadāna* (27), *Aśokāvadāna* and *Avadānakalpalatā* (59).—Tr.

he acknowledged the three treasures (ratnas) as his teaching. He was informed beforehand by a god in a dream that on the following day a bhikṣu would come to his house to beg for alms, and that as his supernatual power was great, he would be able to collect the Venerables of all regions and so he should ask him (to do that). When another morning the Arhant Poṣadha came to his house he implored him. He maintained for 3 years the congregation of 80,000 Venerables. The gods being greatly delighted at the teaching let fall down in his house a rain of flowers. He satiated 100,000 bhikṣhus daily up to the end of his life. The eighth section: the events at the time of king Vigatāśoka.

IX

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF SECOND KĀŚYAPA

After him the Arhant Kāśyapa, who was born in the North, in the land of Gāndhāra, worked for the salvation of living beings through three kinds of religious works. At that time there lived, the son of Vigatāśoka, Vīrasena,[1] who through the favour of Vaiśravaṇa's wife, the goddess Lakṣmī, possessed inexhaustible riches without doing even the least harm to living beings. He supported bhikṣus of the four quarters for three years, and offered a hundred kinds of sacrificial requisities to all caityas existing on the face of the earth. At that time in Mathurā, the Brāhmaṇa Yaśa[2] who was very much devoted to the teaching, erected the Vihāra Śarāvatī,[3] and maintained 100,000 monks; in that Vihāra the Arhat

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[1] Tib. dbaḥ. woḥi. sde with it variant dbañ-poḥi. sde (Indrasena); is it not a corruption of Vṛṣasena? See Lassen II, 27, the Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra (leaf 323) attributes to him a reign of 70 years, and to his predecessor 76 years.

[2] Text: Yaśika (grags-ldan),

[3] The river Śarāvatī is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna (p. 21) as one of the boundaries of the Madhyama Janapada of the Buddhists;

Ślanavāsa (Śāṇavāsika or Śāṇavāsa)[1] taught the Dhamma to a large number of bhikṣus of all regions gathered there. At that time there lived, in a region of the kingdom of Maruṭa,[2] the son of a merchant, Mahādeva, who had committed the three unpardonable (ānantarya) sins,[3] viz., particide, matricide and murder of an Arhant. Tormented by his conscience he went to Kasmira.[4] After concealing his ways of life he became a bhikṣu. With his sharp intellect he became very learned in the three Piṭakas, felt strong repentance, and practised samādhi in solitude. Thereafter, by the power of Māra, all took him to be an Arhant, and this greatly increased his gain and fame ; he them came to Śarāvatī with a group of bhikṣus ; the the bhikṣus recited the Prātimokṣasūtra by turn, and when the turn came to Mahādeva, he said at the end of his recitation that "gods are deluded through ignorance, the path proceeds out of the sound-stream, the sceptics are possessed by others' (wrong views).[5] —this is the teaching of Buddha." When he had taught this, the Venerable ones and the old bhikṣus said that these were not the words of the sūtras ; but the majority of the young bhikṣus sided with Mahādeva, and thus there appeared a division. After Mahādeva had explained falsely the sense of many other words of the text and had passed away, the bhikṣu Bhadra, whom men took to be a reincarnation of Māra Pāpīya, also succeeded in introducing many contradictions and doubts regarding the sense of the scriptures, and he anounced five facts, viz., (1) the answer, (2) ignorance (3) doubt, (4) temptation (5) the restoration of individuality and he gave these out to be the

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see S. N. Mazumdar's edition of Cunningham's Geography, p. xliii ; Vinaya, Mv., I, p. 197.—Tr.

[1] Yul. slan. pa. Cf. Mahāvaṃsa, p. 22 : Sambhuūta Sānavāsi.—Tr.

[2] The kingbom was probably named after the ruler and he is Maruṇḍ ? See Bohtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit Dictianary* s. v.

[3] In the Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra and other works Mahadeva's life is related. Watters has summarised it in his *Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, pp. 267-9. —Tr.

[4] In the Chinese sources Pāṭaliputra is mentioned instead of Kasmira. See Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 268.—Tr.

[5] Lha. rnams. ma. rig. pa. yis. bslus. Lam. ni. sgra. yi. rgyun. las. byun. . The. tsom. can. rnams. gzan. gyis. bjug.—Tr.

teaching of Buddha.[1] Different ways of explaining the word appeared in consequence of the many special opinions, and on account of doubts and misunderstandings the division became manifold, and also on account of the fact, that the teachers of the different sūtras in the language of different regions changed a little the succession of letters and connection of words, and introduced many different long and short word-beginnings.

Although the Arhants and many learned people tried to reconcile this division, the ordinary bhikṣus were overpowered by the Demon and the division did not cease. When Mahādeva and Bhadra died, the bhikṣus came to know their character. After Kaśyapa II had vanished from the present, the Venerable Mahāloma took charge of the land of Mathurā and the Venerable Nandin, the affairs concerning the teaching. The ninth section, the events of the time of Kāśyapa II.

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[1] See Dutt's *Early History etc.*, p. 229, for the interpretation of Mahāde va's five tenets.

MISCELLANY

Yāgeśvara

In the I.H.Q. of June, 1929, Dr. Venkatasubbiah wrote an article on Yāgeśvara, a rare word occurring in Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra. He pointed out that Dr. Hertel was wrong in taking the word in the sense of 'gold'. He referred also to the fact that the word occurred in the Naiṣadha of Śrīharṣa (12. 38), and Mallinātha and Nārāyaṇa took it to mean 'a crystal phallus of Śiva'.

I wish here to add that the word occurs in Skanda-purāṇa (Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, 11.6 of Kumārikā-khaṇḍa), and there it is used in the sense of a Śivaliṅga made of stone. The word, however, is found there in the form of Jāgeśvara.

तत्र जागेश्वरं लिङ्गं कृत्वाथ विनिवेशितम् ।
बाल्यादुपलरूपं तद्वर्षावारिविशुद्धितम् ॥

There is no critical edition of Skanda-purāṇa, but it is probable that जागेश्वर is a variant for यागेश्वर. The form जागेश्वर is, in fact, found even in Nārāyaṇa's commentary (vide the 4th N. S. edition); and in a correct and well written manuscript of the commentary of Jinarāja, preserved in the Bhandarkar Institute, both the forms यागेश्वर and जागेश्वर are found. It is no doubt difficult to derive the word in its latter form, unless we assume it to be a contraction of जगद्योगेश्वर, which seems to be another Śivaliṅga mentioned in Skanda-purāṇa (9. 22 of the above-mentioned khaṇḍas).

There is, however, no doubt that Śrīharṣa himself wrote यागेश्वर. Vidyādhara, the earliest known commentator on Naiṣadha, gives the word in this form. But he explains यागेश्वर as a crystal water-deity, and does not say that it is a Śivaliṅga. He contrasts Yāgeśvara with Nārāyaṇa. The latter, too, he says, is a water-deity (जलदेवता), resorting as he does to the ocean; but he sleeps in the ocean, while Yāgeśvara 'keeps awake' (जागर्ति) as stated in the Naiṣadha verse referred to above.

Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, the next commentator after Vidyādhara,[1] does not recognise the word यागेश्वर at all ; for he construes it as या + अगेश्वरः, an interpretation found in Nārāyaṇa also. He connects, however, Yāgeśvara with the natural ocean, from which 'the ocean of fame' described in the verse is to be distinguished ; and in the case of the ocean, he explains it as यज्ञपुरुष, who, he says, lives invisible in the ocean. Cāṇḍū is a learned commentator, but his explanation of this word is ambiguous.

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[1] Vidyādhara and Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita wrote in the latter half of the 13th century. Their commentaries are still unpublished, but extensive extracts from them have been given in the notes appended to my English translation of Naiṣadha, now in the Press.

Among later commentators, Mallinātha, Jinarāja and Nārāyaṇa rely on some current tradition (प्रसिद्धि) and take the word to mean a crystal phallus of Śiva (स्फटिकलिङ्गे यागेश्वर इति प्रसिद्धिः). Skanda-purāṇa, too, as we have seen, refers to Yāgeśvara as a Śivaliṅga, though not made of crystal.

There is another reason which makes the connection between Yāgeśvara and Śiva probable. Śrīharṣa describes Yāgeśvara as living 'invisible, having entered the waters' (जलं चाविश्य दृश्येतरो, यस्यासौ जलदेवता स्फटिकभूर्जागर्ति यागेश्वरः). It is here important to note that we know of a Śiva idol, which, too, is described as living in the midst of waters. Maṅkhaka, in his Śrīkaṇṭha-carita 3, 14, refers to the wooden Kapaṭeśvara Śiva and says that he 'sleeps' (i. e. lives hidden) in water in Satīsaras, which is a name of Kāśmīra (3.1).

स एव भर्गः कपटेश्वराख्यया निरस्तलोकत्रयकल्मषक्रमः ।
दधद्वपुः काष्ठमयं जले स्वपित्यनुद्गमायेव दृगग्नितेजसः ॥[1]

From this it is clear that certain forms of Śiva are described as abiding in water, and Śrīharṣa attributes the same characteristic to Yāgeśvara. This lends further support to the belief that Yāgeśvara as described by Śrīharṣa is a form of Śiva. Besides, the fact that the name Yāgeśvara ends in 'īśvara,' while the deity is described as being of crystal, is an indication that the reference is to a Śivaliṅga. For practically all the names of Śivaliṅgas mentioned in the Purāṇas end in 'īśvara,' while references to crystal Śivaliṅgas are not rare even in the Kāvya literature. A crystal phallus of Śiva is referred to in Daśakumāracarita (1.2), and in Nava-sāhasāṅkacarita (18.51).

I have here confined myself to the word Yāgeśvara, but may point out that, in the Naiṣadha verse referred to above, the earlier commentators read दृश्येतरा for दृश्येतरः and make it qualify जलदेवता.

KRISHNA K. HANDIQUI

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[1] For details see Rājānaka Jayaratha's Haracarita-cintāmaṇi, ch. 14.

Date of the Mudrā-rākṣasa

While editing a Kannaḍa version of the Mudrārākṣasa, I was strongly impressed that the Sanskrit work should be ascribed to the Gupta period and not to the eighth or the ninth century and that Dr. Jacobi [*W. Z. K. M.* (1888), pp. 212-6] has wrongly arrived at the year 860 A.D. as the date of composition of the drama. The last verse of the play is as follows :

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

The variants of the last word in this poem that occur in the manuscripts are Dantivarman, Rantivarman and Avantivarman. Now there are two Avantivarmans to be found, one being a contemporary of Harṣa (c. 640) and the other a king of Kashmir (855-83 A.D.). Jacobi believes that the latter is the one referred to and that his minister Sura had the play enacted at his court. According to him, the eclipse that is referred to in the play took place on the 2nd December, 860.

This is unsatisfactory for several reasons. For the sake of argument we may equally assert that it is Dantivarman who is alluded to. We have three kings of the name, two of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage and the other a Pallava who succeeded Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The first Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantivarman (c. 600) was probably a contemporary of Pulakeśin II (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI). The second Dantivarman or Dantidurga who had the titles of *Vaira-megha*, and *Khaḍgāvaloka* lived in 754 A.D. and conquered Sandubhūpa, the Lord of Kāñcī (Nandivarman), Kaliṅga, Kośala, Śrī Śaila, the Śeṣas, Mālava Lāṭa and Ṭaṅka after crossing the rivers such as Mahānadī and Revā (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII). The Pallava king Dantivarman was the son of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and seemed to have ruled from 779 to 830 A.D. Between his 21st and 59th year, Rāṣṭrakuṭa Govinda III defeated him and took Kāñcī.

Any of these kings might with equal propriety be referred to in the drama. But a careful study reveals the fact that the author was a resident of Northern India and knew very well the topographical details of the city of Pāṭaliputra. In all probability he lived in the city long before it was destroyed. In the drama, the king of Kashmir and that of Malaya are referred to as *Mlecchas* or barbarians. If we locate Malaya in South India and opine that the drama was enacted before a Dantivarman, or even suppose that Avantivarman of Kashmir is alluded to, it is not conceivable how the author could refer to the country of his patrons as *Mleccha-deśa* with impunity. *Mleccha-deśa* was the general term applied to all countries beyond the confines of Āryāvarta—the country between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas. (म्लेच्छदेशस्त्वविज्ञेय: आर्यावर्तस्तत:परम्). In this drama Śakas, Cīnas, Hūṇas, Pārasīkas, Yavanas, Khaśas, and even Kāśmīras, and Kulūtas are referred to as barbarians. Moreover, among the varieties of Prākṛt employed in the drama, the Kṣapaṇaka Jīvasiddhi and the Caṇḍālas employ Māgadhī instead of the ordinary Śaurasenī. All this cumulative evidence leads us to suppose that the author was a native of the country bounded on the north-east by the Khasia hills, in the south by the Vindhyas and in the west by Kulūta which Yuan Chwang tells us was the country between Jālandhara and the Śatadrū.

Turning now to the time of composition of the drama, we find that at the outset a lunar eclipse takes place. This must have been in Bhādrapada, for the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* is referred to immediately afterwards. This surely occurred on the day of Āśvayuja-pūrṇimā when *Kojāgarī-vrata* is observed and Indra and Lakṣmī are worshipped. Soon after this, while Candragupta is taking Cāṇakya to task for having stopped *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, the attendants sing of Śarad-ṛtu and the waking of Viṣṇu from his snake-bed i.e. on the occasion of the *Utthānadvādaśī* or *Probodhotsava* (*Kārtika* Śu 12). The estrangement between Cāṇakya and Candragupta is immediately reported to Rākṣasa and on *Kārtika, śuddhapūrṇimā*, Rākṣasa asks the Kṣapaṇaka to name an auspicious day for marching on Kusumapura. Jīvasiddhi says that after sunset the *Budha-lagna* is auspicious.

The eclipse that according to Jacobi took place on the 2nd December, 860 A.D. is thus not the one that is alluded to, because firstly, it occurs on the full-moon day of the *Mārgaśirṣa* month. But, as we have seen, the whole action must have been concluded by the Kārtika Pūrṇimā. Probably Jacobi relies on Dhuṇḍirāja and thinks that nearly two months of inactivity elapsed after the estrangement between Cāṇakya and Candragupta. But Rākṣasa's words show that as soon as the message from Pāṭaliputra came, immediate efforts were made to march on the city. At the most a delay of three or four days (from *utthānadvādaśī* to *Pūrṇimā*) is all that is possible.

Secondly, there was no lunar eclipse at all on the 2nd December, 860 A.D.[1] Viśākhadatta must have had an actual eclipse in his mind, which for the purpose of his drama he presents as imminent, and it must have been generally believed that it was actually going to take place as indicated by the preparations made to observe it with due ceremonies.

The last verse of the *Bharatavākya* is assigned in some manuscripts to the actor of the part of Candragupta himself. In that case, it is almost certain that the Candragupta alluded to must have been a king at whose court the drama was acted. The use of the word *adhunā* supports this idea.

Viśākhadatta was familiar with Kusumapura and probably lived there before it was destroyed by the Ganges. We have the record of at least three such innundations. The latest was probably in 1472 A.D. after which Sher Shah re-built the fortress and the town.[2] This is also referred to in the Jaina work *Karpūraprakara.*

"वीरनिर्वाणतो वर्षशतेष्वेकोनविंशती चतुर्दशाब्दयुक्तेषु व्यतीतेषु दुराशय: चैत्रसप्तमीदिने विष्टौ भावी म्लेच्छकुलो नृप: कल्किरुद्रतश्चतुर्वक्त्री नाम तृतीयविश्रुत:..............गंगाप्रवाहस्तन्नगरं प्लावयिष्यति"

One thousand and nine hundred and fourteen years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the Ganges once again destroyed Pāṭaliputra. Before this in about 750 A.D., according to a version of Kang-Juyen, there was another submergence of the city. But the earliest of all seems to be the one at the time of the death of Kalkin which event Jaina accounts place in 472 A.D. The *Trilokasāra* says

श्रीवीरनाथनिर्वृते: सकाशात् पञ्चोत्तरषट्शतवर्षाणि पंचमासयुतानि गत्वा पश्चात् विक्रमांकशकराजो जायते। तत उपरि चतुर्नवत्युत्तरत्रिशतवर्षाणि सप्तमासाधिकानि गत्वा पश्चात् कल्की जायते।

Similarly the Jaina *Harivaṃśa, Trailokyadīpikā, Uttarapurāṇa,* and the *Trilokasāra* are all unanimous in placing Kalkin 394 years and five months after Śaka era (*My. Ar. Rep.,* 1928). May we not therefore, be justified in concluding that in the year 472 A.D., Pāṭaliputra was destroyed by the Ganges. Viśākhadatta must have lived prior to this date and in the days of Candragupta Vikramāditya.

Viśākhadatta himself gives us the clue in a verse (Act IV, 4).

दूरे प्रत्यासत्तिर्दर्शनमपि दुर्लभमधन्यैः।
कल्याणकुलधराणां देवानामिव मनुष्यदेवानाम्॥

Here the Gupta lineage is compared with that of the gods, and Malayaketu is referred to as an ordinary king (*manuṣya*). *Kalyāṇakula* seems to be the same as *Śrīkula* and in an inscription of Gupta era 61, the Gupta family is referred to as "श्रीसंयुतानां गुप्तान्वयः", and the Deva is no other than Candragupta himself whose titles on the coins are (1) *Avikrama*, (2) *Ajitavikrama*, (3) *Narendracandra* (4) *Devarāja*, (5) *Siṃhavikrama*, etc. Moreover, the Śakas who are mentioned in the drama are probably the Western Kṣatrapas whose line came to an end in 388 A.D. at the hands of Candragupta. It is unlikely that if no Śaka is found after 400 A.D., a writer recording long after should refer to them. The destruction of Śakas is referred to by Bāṇa and in the drama *Devīcandragupta* quoted in the *Śṛṅgāra-rūpaka.* So the drama Mudrārākṣasa must have been written some time after 388 A.D. and before 415 A.D. the latest date for Candragupta Vikramāditya. Thus Viśākhadatta becomes the younger contemporary of Kālidāsa. Dr. J. J. Modi is of opinion that the Hūṇas were to be found on the Indian borders as early as the second century A.D. and the argument that Hūṇas came to India only after 475 A.D. is not valid. They became a menace only in the time of Toramāna and Mihirakula and harassed Skandagupta. But until then they seem to have been contented with sporadic expeditions for the purposes of pillage and robbery. The use of the phrase "म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना" in the *Bharatavākya* shows that a sort of guerilla warfare was being carried on and that the Hūṇas were not yet as powerful as they were to become under Toramāna or Mihirakula.

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[1] *Indian Ephemeris,* vol. I, pt. I, p. 233.

[2] Lassen, *I. A.,* vol. II.

There is nothing in the internal evidence that militates against our view. Some of the stanzas that occur in this drama are also to be found in the Pañcatantra (अत्युच्छ्रिते मन्त्रिणि पार्थिवे च etc.) and in Bhartṛhari's Nītiśataka (आरभ्यते न खलु etc.). Of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas only the Śṛṅgāra-śataka seems to have been his own composition, the other two being collections of *Subhāṣitas.* *Pañcatantra* or *Tantrākhyāyikā* cannot be placed later than the middle of the third century A.D. Perhaps Viśākhadatta borrowed the verse from *Pañcatantra*, or as is more probable, he introduced into his work some of the floating literature of his time. So there is no sufficient reason for placing him after Bhartṛhari.

In the first Act, Cāṇakya says that Induśarman is well-versed in the science of polity of Auśanasa school. This does not necessarily mean that this drama is posterior to *Śukranīti.* Kālidasa mentions the Auśanasa-nīti thus :

अध्यापितस्योशनसापि नीतिं
प्रयुक्तरागप्रणिधिर्द्विषस्ते ।
कस्यार्थधर्मौ वद पीडयामि
सिंधोस्तटावोघ इव प्रवृद्धः ॥

(*Kumārasambhava*, III 6).

Kauṭalya in the *Arthaśāstra* criticizes the opinions of his predecessors like *Mānava*, *Bārhaspatya*, *Auśanasa*, *Pārāśara* and *Ambhīya*. Nor is there sufficient justification for placing Viśākhadatta after Varāhamihira. Kālidāsa knows that the Moon is the friend of Budha and Guru (cf. *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIII, 76). The notion that Ketu influences the fortunes of men (according to Ballālasena's *Adbhutasāgara*) originated with Pulisa or Paulas of Alexandria. Hence we can only conclude that the drama was composed after the third century A.D.

The allusions to the selflessness of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas and to the story of Śibi show that Buddhism was an honoured religion at this time, though due to the Brāhmaṇical revival it was gradually losing ground. The fact that Cāṇakya sent Induśarman to the court of Malayaketu as a Kṣapaṇaka of the Lokottaravādin school instead of as a Brahmin Parivrājaka, shows that the Buddhist monks had been in the habit of conducting political intrigues under the protective cloak of their *Āśrama*. The nuns in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in the *Daśakumāracarita* engage themselves in even more reprehensible acts. It is not surprising that an author with Brāhmaṇical leanings like Viśākhadatta, depicts Jīvasiddhi as a spy and a betrayer.

Coming to the style, a single glance is enough to show that Viśākhadatta writes clearly and forcibly as befits the narrative. His style shows none of the elaborate ornateness of Māgha and Bhavabhūti or Ratnākara or Bhāravi. At the same time, since in the first stanza he employs Vakrokti, it is possible that he is later than Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha must certainly be prior to Bhāravi, the arguments about the former being posterior to Daṇḍin or Dharmakīrti being manifestly absurd. Bhāravi must have been the contemporary of Durvinīta (c. 450), Siṃhavarman or Siṃhaviṣṇu of Kāñcī (Śaka 380 or A.D. 458 according to Siṃhasūri's *Lokavibhāga*) and Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana. The attempt to place Bhāravi between 615 A.D. (accession of Viṣṇuvardhana of the Eastern Cāḷukyas) and 634 A.D. (the date of the Aihole inscription composed by Ravikīrti) would lead us to the ridiculous conclusion that during the space of fifteen years Bhāravi became so famous that a Jaina poet of such merit as Ravikīrti classed him with Kālidāsa. Bhāravi must be placed in about 450 A.D. Thus there is nothing contrary to our view that Viśākhadatta might have followed the school of Bhāmaha.

Some minor points might be noticed. Vaṭeśvaradatta is spoken of as merely a *Sāmanta*, while his son Pṛthu perhaps obtained the title of *Mahārāja* (which cannot mean a minister) and Viśākhadatta has the title of neither *Sāmanta*, nor *Kumāra* nor *Yuvarāja*. And the use of the phrase *Śrīmadbandhubhṛtya* in the *Bharatavākya* indicates that the members of the family of Viśākhadatta was included among the relatives and servants of Candragupta. Probably ,Pṛthu tried to make himself independent during the reign of Samudragupta who deprived him and his son of all their power.

The designation of the offices that occur in the drama like *Kālapāśaka*, *daṇḍapāśaka*, *sarvanagaraśreṣṭhin*, *durgapālaka*, *kumāra*, *adhirāja*, *vijayapālaka*, etc. also occur in the Basra seals and other contemporary Gupta records as *uparikamahārāja*, *mahāpratihārin*, *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *nagaraśreṣṭhin*, *daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa*, etc. Viśākhadatta evidently employs the terminology of his own time instead of that of the *Artha-śāstra*.

Thus having fixed the time of the composition of the play, we shall see if in any year about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the astronomical conditions mentioned in the play are fulfilled. It has already been indicated that the balance of probability is that Viśākhadatta while writing the play had a definite time-scheme starting with a lunar eclipse on a Bhādrapada full-moon day and ending with the Kārtika full-moon day in accordance with the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. The year 397 A.D. satisfies these conditions.[1]

Lunar eclipse, Bhādrapada Ś. 15, Monday, 24th August, 397 A.D.
Kaumudīmahotsava, Āśvina Ś. 15, Wednesday, 23rd Sept., ,,
Prabodhotsava, Kārtika Ś. 12, Monday, 19th October, ,,
March on Pāṭaliputra, Kārtika Ś. 15, Thursday, 22nd Oct., ,,

On Thursdays travelling is forbidden till 3 P.M. (22 ghaṭikās after sunrise) and because of *Paurṇimā* and *Kṛttikānakṣatra* travelling from north to south is also tabooed. It is further enjoined that princes must start in a *dvisvabhāvalagna* like that of Budha when engaged in war. Jīvasiddhi opines that the *Lagna* is strong enough to overcome the evil results of *nakṣatra, tithi* and *vāra.* Independent of the accepted belief that the drama *Devī-candragupta* is a work of Viśākhadatta and cannot have been composed prior to 388 A.D., the last date of the Kṣatrapas, we have arrived at the conclusion that Murdārākṣasa must have been composed during the time of Candragupta II, by our process of reasoning. I am not aware of Dr. Sten Konow's arguments for placing Viśākhadatta in the reign of Candragupta, but the facts adduced above serve to show that this theory cannot be dismissed, as Dr. Keith does, as a mere "fantasy."

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[1] The year A.D. 388, in which Candragupta destroyed the Śakas, seems also to fit the data :—Bhādrapada Ś. 15 Lunar eclipse on 2nd September ; Āśvina, kaumudī mahotsava on October 2nd, Monday ; Prabodhotsava on Kārtika 12, Saturday, October 28th ; and the full-moon of Kārtika falls on Tuesday, 31 October.

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI

Characteristic Features of the Saṭṭaka form of Drama[1]

The word 'Saṭṭaka' is fairly well-known to students of Sanskrit dramaturgy as the name of a minor form of drama. But the literal and exact sense of the word or its characteristic features are not quite well-known. Originally it seems to have referred to a form of dance.

The word *Sāḍikā* is found in a Bharhut inscription where it refers to music or dance. According to Dr. Hoernle it is a somewhat irregularly formed equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sāṭaka* applicable to the dancing of the Apsarases.[2]

That dancing formed an essential part in the staging of Saṭṭakas is gathered from statements found in the prologues of the two Saṭṭakas—*Karpūramañjarī* and *Rambhāmañjarī.* The Pāripārśvika in the first work expressly states that the Saṭṭaka has to be danced.[3] In the second work the expression 'Oh, the dancers have already begun'[4] has been used to refer to the fact that the play has already begun. This would also be quite clear from a definition of the Saṭṭaka as given in the *Bhāvaprakāśana* according to which Saṭṭaka is a form of dance.[1]

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[1] Read before the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference at Patna in December, 1930.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, p. 257; Hultzsch, Z.D.M.G., vol. XL, 1886, p. 66, No. 50.

[3] सट्टकं णच्चिदव्वं ।

[4] अहो प्रक्रान्तमेव नर्त्तकैः ।

Uses like सट्टकम् आश्रित्य, सन्देशसट्टकं, and शार्दूलविक्रीडितसट्टकबन्धमधिकृत्य in the *Rambhāmañjarī* would seem to point to a kind of metre or *rāga* as the meaning of the word.

It is not known when the Saṭṭaka as a form of drama—as apart from a kind of music or dance—came to be introduced. Neither we have many surviving specimens of this kind of drama. Earlier works like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya do not mention Saṭṭaka. The section of the *Agnipurāṇa* (338, 2) dealing with dramaturgy refers to Saṭṭaka but the time of the composition of the Purāṇa is not yet definitely known. And the *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara seems to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, available specimen of a Saṭṭaka. But even at the time of Rājaśekhara, Saṭṭaka as a form of drama does not seem to have been widely known and this necessitated a definition of the form in the prologue.[2] It should be noted that the prologue is not found elsewhere to define or explain the form of the drama.

There was a good deal of controversy with regard to the exact nature of Saṭṭaka. According to some it is a type of *Toṭaka*[3]; according to others it is a form of *Nāṭikā*.[4]

But the greatest amount of controversy appears to have centred round the language of a Saṭṭaka. Thus a characteristic feature of the Saṭṭaka as noted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (and as is the general impression among students of Sanskrit) is the exclusive use of Prākṛt.[5] But this does not seem to have been the case originally or even later on generally. The definition of this form of drama as given by Rājaśekhara in the prologue of his *Karpūramañjarī* does not refer to this important feature. Had it required the exclusive use of Prākṛt, the verse that explains it would not have omitted to mention this vital point. On the other hand subsequent

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[1] सट्टकं नाटिकाभेदो नृत्यभेदात्मकं प्रिये (p. 269).

[2] But Prof. Sten Konow thinks otherwise. According to him the definition of Saṭṭaka as given in the work itself suggests that the *Karpūramañjarī* was not the first composition of its kind.—*Karpūramañjarī* (H. O. S.), p. 195.

[3] *Bhāvaprakāśana* (G. O. S.), p. 180.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[5] सट्टकं प्राकृताशेषपाठ्यं स्यादप्रवेशकम्—VI.284.

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query, why Prākṛt has been used to the exclusion of Sanskrit may be regarded as an indication that Saṭṭakas were composed in Sanskrit as well.

The *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya, 'a compendium of all activities of the writers on literary criticism from Bharata down to Kṣemendra in the 11th century' (as the work is described in the introduction to its edition in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*) actually refers to people who were definitely of opinion that at least the king in a Saṭṭaka should not speak Prākṛt.[1] In the same breath the view of others according to whom the king should speak Māgadhī or Śaurasenī form of Prākṛt is also referred to.[2] It is stated in another place of the same work that a Saṭṭaka should be *Prakṛṣṭaprākṛtamaya*.[3] But the meaning of the word is not quite clear. It seems to refer to the use of high class Prākṛt alone in a Saṭṭaka. For it is definitely laid down that a Saṭṭaka should be couched in the languages spoken in Śūrasena and Mahārāṣṭra.[4] It may not unlikely also mean that a Saṭṭaka should be mainly—if not exclusively—in Prākṛt, thereby hinting at the possibility of the existence of Saṭṭakas in Sanskrit.

The definition of the Saṭṭaka as given by the author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is extremely obscure. He is expressly of opinion that a Saṭṭaka should be in one language. But it is difficult to make out anything from his statement to the effect that it should neither be in Sanskrit nor in Prākṛt.[5] Does it indicate that Saṭṭakas were originally in spoken dialects which were different alike from Sanskrit and literary Prākṛt?

Whatever might have been the case originally it is clear from the references of Śāradātanaya that there were Saṭṭakas in which the king at least spoke Sanskrit. The silence in Rājaśekhara's definition as to the language to be used in a Saṭṭaka as also his excuse for using Prākṛt instead of Sanskrit would naturally lead one to suspect the existence of Saṭṭakas in Sanskrit.

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[1] न वदेत् प्राकृतीं भाषां राजेति कतिचिज्जगुः (p. 269).

[2] मागध्या शौरसेन्या वा वदेद् राजेति केचन (*loc.cit.*).

[3] प्रकृष्टप्राकृतमयी सट्टकं नामतो भवेत् (p. 244).

[4] शूरसेनमहाराष्ट्रवाच्यभाषादिकल्पितम (p. 269).

[5] विष्कम्भक प्रवेशकरहितो यस्त्वेकभाषया भवति ।
अप्राकृतसंस्कृतया स सट्टको नाटिकाप्रमितः ॥

—*Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (G. O. S.), vol. I, p. 213.

As a matter of fact we have a work the *Rambhāmañjarī* of the Jain poet Nayacandra (author of the Hammīramahākāvya) which is styled Saṭṭaka and is written in imitation of the *Karpūramañjarī*. The work is partly in Sanskrit. Here the king speaks Sanskrit; the Sūtradhāra speaks Sanskrit and Prākṛt. The plot of the work agrees very closely with that of the *Karpūramañjarī*. The use of Sanskrit by our author cannot be supposed to be a fresh adventure as its use in earlier works can be inferred from the statements of Śāradātanaya and Rājaśekhara.

One more notable feature of the work is that it is complete in three *yavanikās* or acts whereas according to the consensus of opinion of all authors of works on dramaturgy it should have four.[1]

It will not be out of place here if an attempt were made to hazard a suggestion to explain this confusion with regard to the exact nature of a Saṭṭaka. Originally it seems to have been—as its name appears to indicate and as has been supposed by scholars like Sten Konow[2] and Keith[3]—a form of popular operatic representation abounding in music and dancing. It was possibly the practice at that time to use in it popular dialects which were neither literary Prākṛt nor Sanskrit. This seems to be the significance—as has already been conjectured—of the definition of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. When introduced in a Sanskrit garb or even when it was in popular dialects it does not seem to have appealed to the cultured Sanskritist audience. This is probably hinted by the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* when it refers to its comparative unpopularity.[4] Rājaśekhara might have made an attempt to restore the popular character of this form of drama by his composition of a Saṭṭaka in literary Prākṛt. It should be noted that Rājaśekhara makes use of high class Prākṛt alone (e.g. Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī). The preponderance of deśī and local element in his work may possibly be due to his desire to make it popular.

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[1] The work as edited by Paṇḍit Ramcandra Dīnānātha Śāstrī was printed at the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay in 1889. Curiously it is styled a *nāṭikā* on the cover. It deals with the story of king Jaitra-Siṃha, the Paṅgu, of Benares and Rambhā, the daughter of Madanavarman of the Kirmīra dynasty of Lāṭa (Gujrat). The subject-matter and historical data of the work will be dealt with in detail in a separate paper.

[2] *Karpūramañjarī* (H. O. S.), p. 195.

[3] *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 350.

[4] एतानि च स्वल्पमात्ररञ्जनानिमित्तत्वात् वृद्धैरनभिहितत्वाच्च वृत्तावेव कीर्त्तितानि (p. 215).

Originating, as it did, from so famous and great a poet as Rājaśekhara the *Karpūramañjarī* soon came to occupy the position of an ideal Saṭṭaka. And not only later poets but also rhetoricians did not hesitate to accept it as the type. And some, at least, of the rhetoricians like Viśvanātha appear to have adapted their definitions of this form of drama to the *Karpūramañjarī*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

On Maṇimekhalā "the guardian deity of the sea" (a Cambodian document)

In the last number of the Indian Historical Quarterly, I have drawn attention to Maṇimekhalā, a goddess of the sea, whose name appears in the Pāli Jātaka and in a celebrated epic of the Tamil literature, associated in both of them, with the same tale— the rescue of a holy man about to be drowned after a shipwreck. I have suggested that this deity belongs to Southern India and that her place of worship may have been Kāñcī or Kāverīpaṭṭana. Now I have quite unexpectedly and by mere chance come across another reference to Maṇimekhalā not in India proper, but in Further India, in that kingdom of Cambodia (Kāmvuja, Kāmboja), where much of old India can still be detected, not only in ancient temples, but also in current life and daily practices.

The Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa has the following episode. Its translation has been prepared through the kindness of Mademoiselle Suzanne Karpelès, the keeper of the King's library and the secretary of the Buddhist Institute at Pnom-Penh.

"At the settled time, the gods and goddesses went to the meeting place where they used to go every year for the pleasure of dancing. A very powerful god, Varjun by name, having heard that all were already present at the place, dressed himself and went there in order to take part in the dance along with the other gods.

At that time, a goddess of the sea, Maṇimekhalā, who had also

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heard of that meeting, left her abode, holding in her hand a blazing jewel, and went to the place where all had to gather. At the same time, it happened that a king of the Giants, Rāmāsura or Rāma parusa (Paraśu Rāma) by name, very wicked and very powerful, left his heavenly mansion to enjoy a walk. In the course of his walk he perceived from afar the blazing fires of the jewel that Maṇimekhalā tossed in her hand while playing with it. Wishing to take hold of that precious jewel, Rāmāsura proceeded straight to her. The gods who were then dancing fled away and hastened to their home at the sight of the wicked Rāmāsura. Maṇimekhalā, left alone on the spot, hid herself in the clouds, tossing her jewel. The Giant followed on her steps. Seeing him, she behaved as if she would give her jewel up to her foe. But, as he was nearing, she tossed the jewel up, and Rāmāsura dazzling at the blaze, drew back. She stepped further, he pursued her. In a fit of anger, he advanced again in order to catch hold of her, but Maṇimekhalā again escaped the threatening hand. At last, the Giant threw his axe, hoping to kill the mistress of the jewel, but, lo ! the axe did not touch her. Rāmāsura exclaimed : 'Mekhalā, will you give me your jewel ? If not, you will be killed by my own hands' and he went on pursuing her.

At this moment the god Varjun, a sword in his hand, came to pass along. Rāmāsura then left her aside, and full of anger, addressed the god Varjun with these words : 'Who are you ? How are you so bold as to pass along before my eyes ? Do you not know that I am the most powerful in the three worlds ? Varjun answered : Well, rascal, my name is Varjun, well-known in the three worlds. While passing through the air, I did not trample on your head. Why do you get across against me ? Why do you want to emulate me ? Have you not heard from the gods the extent of my divine power ? Well be aware of this, Rāvaṇa himself, with ten heads and twenty arms, yields to myself ?

Listening to these harsh words of Varjun, Rāmāsura enraged turned his axe round and began to fight. They exchanged such blows that the earth quaked. At last Rāmāsura succeeded in catching Varjun's feet, and he struck him against mount Meru so hard that Varjun died. The three worlds quaked, the Meru leaned on one side under Rāmāsura's heavy blow.

After that fight, Rāmāsura returned home victorious. As for Maṇimekhalā, she sat back to the sea, where she is still going on acting as a guardian."

This is the tale from which a ballet has been drawn, still performed at the court of Cambodia. It was given once more, a few months ago at the festival held at Pnom-Penh on the opening of the new Buddhist Institute (May 1930); it had been performed a little earlier (December 1929) before the mahārājā of Kapurthala on the occasion of his visit to the royal court of Cambodia. The Programme distributed to the guests is as follows :

1. Welcoming dance of the angels.
2. The archangel Vorchun join the angels and dances with them.
3. The goddess of the sea, Mekhalā, holding a blazing stone, enters and dances with others. The archangel Vorchun requests her in vain to give him the stone.
4 The demon Ream-Eysor, dazzled by the blaze of the jewel thrown by Mekhalā, breaks out into a fit of fury, and pursues the angels. He attempts to obtain from the goddess of the sea her wonderful jewel, but to no purpose ; he pursues her and engages himself in a fight with the archangel Vorchun who tries to stand in his way.

Now it is clear at once that the compiler of the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa was familiar with the same Maṇimekhalā, "the guardian of the sea", the owner of a wonderful jewel, who appears both in Pāli and Tamil literature, and that he was, moreover, acquainted with some features of her legend which we could only guess or presuppose from Indian sources. I had in my previous paper dwelt on a passage of the Mahājanakajātaka where the author explains why the goddess neglected for full seven days to inspect the sea ; after giving his own explanation, he adds : "some people say (*keci vadanti*) that she had been attending a meeting of the gods". And again, after becoming conscious of her negligence, Maṇimekhalā exclaims : "If Mahājanaka had perished in the sea, I could not hereafter be admitted into the meeting of the gods." What that meeting was is now told expressly in the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa : the gods used to meet once a year in a fixed place for the pleasure of dancing. Now, Maṇimekhalā's struggle with Paraśu Rāma is not likely to be a spontaneous fancy of the Cambodian epic ; it was probably borrowed from some old cycle of Indian legends in which Maṇimekhalā was playing the chief part. It is no wonder that legends originating from the South-Eastern coast of India reached Cambodia ; there are ample evidences of regular intercourse between this kingdom and the Southern dynasties, the Pallavas and the Colas. I hope I can later trace another evidence of the same kind, but in a converse direction.

SYLVAIN LÉVI

Notes on Dravidian

THE R-SOUNDS OF DRAVIDIAN

I *General*

The sound *r* can, in very general terms, be described as being produced by the vibration of the tip of the tongue raised up to some point between the teeth-ridge and the middle-palate on the mouth-roof. The sounds so produced are of different varieties, depending upon the point of articulation and the amount of vibratory movement involved. So far as the point of articulation is concerned, it may be anywhere[1] between the teeth-ridge and the middle-palate. Vibratory movements of the tongue-tip become impossible when the point of articulation is taken beyond the middle-palate; and they are reduced to a minimum when the tongue-tip is on the teeth-ridge. From the supra-dental region to the mid-palatal area, the tongue-tip retains sufficient elastic power to be set in varying degrees of vibration. The more forward the position of the tongue-tip, the greater is the tendency shown by the sound to assume a fricative character; as the tongue-tip moves more and more backward on the mouth-roof, the vibratory movements become easier, till a particular position is reached beyond which no vibratory movements are possible.

As the tip of the tongue could vary its point of contact on the mouth-roof, one should naturally expect variations in the character of the sounds produced not only among the different dialectal varieties of the same language but also among individual speakers of the same dialect and even among the different enunciations of the same speaker. This is actually the case in Dravidian. Further, the tendency of Dravidian to push up the tongue-tip towards the dome or apex of the mouth-roof (cf. the enunciation of the characteristic 'cerebral' sounds *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, of Dravidian) has led to the production in Dravidian of as many *r* sounds as there are points of articulation from the teeth-ridge up till the mid-palatal region. To adopt the scientific classification of Jespersen, we may say that the Dravidian varieties may be produced anywhere between $\beta R^{e \cdot f}$ and $\beta R^{g \cdot h}$. We need only note the value of southern English *r* [= I. P. A. 'ɹ'] is absent in Dravidian.

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[1] See Jespersen's *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, pp. 38, 39.

For practical purposes, however, we shall recognise here only three main varieties. These three varieties are represented in Tamil :—

(*a*) the so-called "light" *r* which is post-dental and produced in the region covered by βR^e to βR^f ; all the southern dialects possess a distinct symbol for this sound, which symbol is usually equated to its actual phonetic value. The vibratory movements of the tongue-tip are very few here and the muscular tension is very low.

(*b*) An 'alveolar'[1] *r* produced at the position denoted by βR^f to βR^g ; this sound has no separate symbol in any of the southern Dravidian speeches. The sound itself exists as such in a fixed form in Tamil only in the consonant groups *nd'r* and *t't'r* where *d'* and *t't'* represent alveolar plosives. In the other dialects the sound crops up only as an impermanent peculiarity in the enunciation of certain speakers or dialectal sub-varieties.

(*c*) The so-called 'cerebral' or 'cacuminal' or 'hard' *ṛ* is produced in the region of βR^g to βR^h and termed variously in the south by native grammarians as *śakaṭa-rēpha*, *baṇḍi-ra*, etc. The vibratory movements of the tongue-tip are largest in the production of this variety. Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa possess symbols for this sound, but in modern enumeration Tamil alone gives it its true value.

In the production of all these three varieties, the lips remain slightly open, the tongue-tip immediately behind the tip-region is slightly drawn backwards so that the tongue-tip is allowed free play during vibration. The vibratory movements in all cases are in contact with the mouth-roof. These vibratory movements increase in number as the point of articulation proceeds higher and higher on the mouth-roof from βR^f to βR^h. The post-dental *r* involves only very few vibratory movements, while the post-alveolar *ṛ* is quite distinctly 'rolled' or 'trilled.' Generally speaking, the most forward variety βR^e and the most backward βR^h are not heard in Dravidian.

The fact that the vibratory movements become easier as the tongue-tip takes up higher and higher positions on the mouth-roof is of particular significance[2] in Dravidian inasmuch as in certain dialects the 'lighter' varieties of *r* tend to become rolled *ṛ* either in combinative positions or under the influence of mechanical or semantic accent. Indeed, any attempt on the part of a speaker to 'trill' his *r* gives rise to the production of *ṛ*.

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[1] Alveolar *d'* in *nd'r* is produced at a slightly more forward position than *t't'* in *t't'r*. The point of articulation for the voiced alveolar *d'* is the region of the *fore-gums*, while *t't'* is produced at the *back-gums*.

[2] What I have termed 'alveolar' *r* in a previous article of mine in these columns includes the true as well as the post-dental variety.

II. *The description of r sounds in Tamil Grammars*

I have described above the values of the main varieties of *r* as they are brought out in present-day enunciation. It would be interesting to consider here the views of old Tamil grammarians with a view to finding out, if possible, the values attached to these sounds in the enunciation of a more ancient period.

The oldest extant Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* (1st century B. C. ?) describes the production of the 'light' *r* thus :—

Sūtra "*Nuṇinā-v-aṇari-y-aṇṇam varuḍa*
Rakāra l̤akāram āy iraṇḍum piṛakkum".

"*R* and *l̤* are produced by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to rub against the hard palate".

The same grammar describes the 'hard' *ṛ* thus :—

"*Aṇari nuṇinā-v-aṇṇam ot't'ra*
Ṛahgā nahgānāyiraṇḍum piṛakkum".

"*Ṛ* and *n* are produced by the tip of the tongue being raised and made to come in contact with the palate".

It may be observed that the *Tolkāppiyam* does not describe any other variety. The *Nannūl*, another grammar, which is later than the Tolkāppiyam describes similarly these two varieties only :—

'Light' *r* :—

"*Aṇṇa nuṇinā varuḍa ra l̤a varum*".

"*R* and *l̤* are produced by the rubbing of the tip of the tongue against the palate".

Minute observation reveals that the symbol for 'light' *r* in Tamil is usually given to-day the value of the post-dental only. The Tamil alphabet thus possesses symbols only for the post-dental *r* and the 'hard' or post-alveolar *ṛ*, the purely alveolar variety having been from early times associated in symbol and in sound with the post-alveolar or retroflex *ṛ*.

'Hard' *ṛ* :—

"*Aṇṇa nuninā naṇi-y-uṛil ṛa na varum*".

"*Ṛ* and *n* are produced when the tongue-tip is closely attached to the palate''.

It would be useless to expect in these descriptions the scientific precision such as we are accustomed to in modern phonetic treatises. On an examination of the above definitions of the Tamil grammars the following points deserve to be singled out :—

(1) So far as *r* is concerned, it is clubbed with the continuative *l̤*, merely on the ground that the tip of the tongue comes into play against the palate in both cases. *l̤* in modern Tamil is distinctly post-alveolar, and 'light' *r* is post-dental. It could certainly not be that in ancient Tamil the *r* described here had the same point of articulation as that of modern *l̤*. *l̤* may indeed have been produced in the post-dental or alveolar regions but the definitions themselves do not suggest anything to warrant an inference of this kind. It is possible that the difference in the points of articulation was not considered by the old grammarians to be sufficiently important to be noted, probably because for *r* and *l̤* the points of articulation varied greatly among different speakers and different enunciations were current in an older period.

(2) As for the other *r* which corresponds in symbol to that representing modern *ṛ*, the old grammarians class it among plosives and define it as being similar in point of production to the alveolar *n*. This view of the Tamil grammarians calls for a few comments. Evidently, the sound referred to here is an alveolar *r* (βR*ʃ*), as we see from the fact that it is described as having the same point of production as *n* and, further, as the classificatory lists show the relationship of this *r* to *n*, just as dental *t* is shown to be parallel to dental *n'*. Between the alveolar *r* and the post-alveolar *ṛ*, the only difference that is easily observable, is the amount of vibration of the tongue-tip. Among individual speakers themselves, the values of the alveolar and the cerebral *r's* are interchanged to-day. It was therefore probably felt by the grammarians that the symbol standing for modern *ṛ* need be described only as representing an alveolar sound and that no separate mention need be made of the cerebral.

Yet another factor also should have contributed to the confusion of the alveolar and the cerebral values of *ṛ* in these definitions. This point has to be considered in close connection with the grammarians' classification of *ṛ* as an ***alveolar plosive.***

Why did they class ṛ as an alveolar plosive? Was it because originally it had only the value of alveolar *t'* or *d'*? Did the sound originally have none of those vibratory movements which we associate with modern ṛ? In other words, could we consider that the modern value of ṛ is a later development from *t'*? The answer to these questions is unequivocally in the negative when we note (a) that *t'* (as we find it in Tamil-Malayāḷam today) has no distinct individuality of its own and shows itself to be a secondarily derived sound; (b) that phonetically *t'* can never give rise to *ṛ* under any circumstances; and (c) that the independence and individuality of ṛ as an ancient Dravidian phoneme with a definite phonetic value and with clear semantic differentiations in those forms, possessing this sound as distinct from forms having 'light' *r*, are unquestionable as shown by the occurrence of the symbol and the sound (in some instances) in the southern Dravidian dialects.

When once we note that *ṛ* is ancient and that *t'* has no individuality of its own, the view (expressed by some scholars) that the symbol for ṛ originally had *only* the value of a plosive becomes unlikely. Why then have these two sounds been confused in the classification adopted by Tamil grammarians? And why does the symbol for modern Tamil *ṛ* stand for *t'* or *d* also in those few consonant groups where these alveolars occur?

I have indicated the answer to these questions already in my discussion of the origin of alveolar plosives *t'*, *d'* in the I.H.Q. (1929). In a large number of instances, the production of *t'* or *d'* occurs in close connection with the vibratory 'rolling' of the alveolar or cerebral *ṛ*, and thereupon the alveolar plosive was associated with *ṛ* in symbol and in sound. (Cf. for this association of *t* or *d'* with *ṛ* the Tamil groups *nd'r* and *tt'r*, the latter of which is produced not only when an original ṛ is involved but also as the result of combinative changes of alveolar *l* or *n plus* dental *t*). Though *t'* or *d'* was recognised as possessing no separate individuality of its own except largely in connection with alveolar or cerebral *ṛ*, it was singled out as the first element in the emphatic enunciation of *ṛ* (alveolar and cerebral). When the sound *ṛ* (alveolar and cerebral) was recognised (especially in accented positions) as being constituted of *t'* or *d'* and *r* (alveolar or cerebral), the symbol originally standing for *ṛ* by a natural confusion came to stand for *t'* also in the consonant groups like *t'k* (<*l* or *n*+*k*) and *t'p* (<*l* or *n*+*p*) where no *ṛ* was involved.

The process of association may therefore be represented to have taken the following course :—

(1) Alveolar and cerebral *ṛ* (with trilling) existed as original sounds in Dravidian and were correctly represented by the modern symbol for *ṛ* ; no attempt was made to distinguish these two, because they shared common features in their enunciation.

(2) *The alveolar plosive element t′* or *d′* was incorporated by these sounds initially, when they were 'rolled' particularly under the influence of accent arising from mechanical or semantic causes.

(3) This plosive element came to be intimately associated with *ṛ* which latter was thereupon also classified as a plosive especially because the plosive element underwent changes parallel to those undergone by the other plosives *p*, *t*, *k* and their voiced varieties.

(4) Further, the symbol standing for *ṛ* also came to stand for the single sound *t′* or *d′* when it cropped up even in contexts where no original *ṛ* was involved, i.e., when it cropped up as an assimilative result of the combination of *l* or *n*+*k* or *l* or *n*+*p*, (in which cases no original *ṛ* was involved).

The mixing-up of the symbols for *ṛ* and *t′* or *d′* and the classification by the Tamil grammarians of *ṛ* as an alveolar plosive should therefore be traced to the peculiar phonetic value of Tamil alveolar or cerebral *ṛ* which in accented or certain combinative positions had the value of *t′* or *d′* + *r*.

III Occurrence of the Sounds

(*a*) In initial positions, no one of the *r*- sounds is found in native words in the different Dravidian dialects except in Telugu, Tuḷu, Kui and Gōṇḍi where the initially occuring *r*- is the result of Aphæresis consequent on accent-shifting :—

Telugu : *rōlu* (mortar)—cf. Tamil *ural* (mortar)
lō (inside)—cf. *uḷ* (inside)
rāyu (to rub)—cf. *orai* (to rub)
etc. etc.

Tuḷu : *lamb*-(to wash)—cf. Tam. *alambu̇*
reñju-(to dissolve)—cf. Tam. *karai*
randu-(to crave)—cf. Tam- *era-kku*
etc. etc.

Kui : *rūk*-(to rub)—cf. southern *or-ai*, etc.
rīs (to set in position)—cf. southern *irutt*-(to place)
rī (to burn)—cf. *eri* (to burn)
etc. etc.

Gōṇḍi : *ragga*-(to descend)—cf. Tamil *iṛaṅgu* ;
rēṅg (to be open)—cf. Tamil *tuṛ* (to be open)
etc. etc.

(*b*) Intervocally, both *r* and *ṛ* occur in Tamil and Malayāḷam and are given their correct values, e.g., *paṛavai* (bird), *iṛaṅgu* (to descend), *uṛai* (to settle, coagulate), etc.

There exist separate symbols for *r* and *ṛ* in Kannaḍa and Telugu also but the modern value of both these symbols is only a post-dental *r* (see below for instances).

(*c*) In final positions, *r* when preceded by a long vowel appears without any enunciatory vowel in Tamil, e.g., *ūr*, *śēr*, etc., but final *ṛ* takes[1] always a slight enunciatory vowel, e.g., *kāṛu* (cloud), *śāṛu* (essence), etc.

In Malayāḷam, final *ṛ* may also appear alone, e.g., *kayaṛ* (rope), *vayaṛ* etc.

No attempt has been made in the above analysis to distinguish between the alveolar and the post-alveolar varieties both of which have in this essay been denoted by *ṛ*. As vibratory movements of the tongue-tip exist in the production of both these sounds, they could not usually be easily marked off one from the other, but we may note here that *r* in the Tamil consonant groups *nd'r* and *t't'r* is alveolar. The post-dental variety is in Tamil represented by a different symbol and it possesses a distinct individuality of its own, as it ordinarily fails to undergo any of those changes which *ṛ* (alveolar and cerebral) appears to have undergone (see below).

Other general features about the occurrence of *r* and *ṛ* may be noted below :—

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[1] This difference is easily explained. Post-dental *r* involves very few vibratory movements and therefore no enunciatory vowel was recognised ; while the larger number of vibratory movements entailed in the production of the 'hard' *ṛ* naturally brought into prominence a slight vocalic element. Such a vocalic element is also associated in Dravidian with the enunciation of *p*, *t*, *k*, immediately after explosion.

(*i*) *r* and ṛ are used alternatively in a few instances which denote basically the same meanings :—*karu*-, *kaṛu* (black) ; *turuva*, *tiṛappu* (opening) etc.

This alternance of *r* and ṛ in the bases probably points to a period when the different varieties of *r* alternated with one another and no fixity of sound had arisen ; but instances of such alternance are few in the extant word-stock.

(*ii*) In the large majority of cases, *r* and ṛ are distinct and separate phonemes in Tamil today, e.g.,

r (*post-dental*)	ṛ (*alveolar* or *cerebral*)
ir (to sit, to exist)	*iṛ*- (to go down, etc.)
pār (to see)	*pāṛ* (to fly)
ar- (nearness)	*aṛ*- (to cut)
etc.	etc.

(*iii*) In dialectal varieties of Tamil, *r* and ṛ are freely interchanged. In the colloquial of the Coimbatore district, the sound uniformly used for both *r*'s approximates to βR^{g} in character, e.g., *tēṛu* (car) for *tēr*, *peṛai* for *perai* (roof), *aṛi* (to cut) for *ari*, etc.

In the colloquial of Madras city (probably owing to the influence of Telugu, for which *vide infra*) all *r*'s are given the value of the post-dental *r* [βR^{f}], e.g., *para* for *paṛai* (to fly), *kari* for *kaṛi* (curry) etc.

(*iv*) We have already referred to the peculiarity in the enunciation of ṛ in the Tamil country, viz., the production of a slight alveolar *t* before the rolling or vibration of the tongue-tip commences. Its presence can be detected on careful observation. The alveolar plosive *t*′ (or *d*′) is the sound resulting from the tongue-tip forming an initial stoppage ; just before the breath-current, necessary for the production of the vibratory movements of the tongue-tip, begins to issue, the tongue-tip will have formed this stoppage and the first force of the current explodes the stoppage and produces alveolar *t*. The alveolar plosive in *tṛ-ṛ-ṛ* could be heard conspicuously when ṛ is rolled with some stress deliberately. If the ṛ is produced higher up in the mid-palatal region itself, the plosive incorporated may be the cerebral ṭ ; but usually the alveolar *t* alone is heard.

(*v*) Malayāḷam ṛ is very much more "rolled" than Tamil ṛ, e.g., *aṛiyuka* (to know), *puṛame* (besides) etc.

Post-dental *r* in consonant groups[1] sometimes becomes ṛ in

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[1] Sanskrit consonant groups formed of voiceless plosives and *r* are given in Mal. the values of *pṛ*, *kṛ*, *tṛ*, e.g., *pṛakāra*, *kṛānti*, *tṛāsam*,

Malayāḷam e.g., *avar* (they)+dative ending-*k*=*avaṛku* (to them), etc.

Final *r* of words, sounded as a "*chit*" (cille-) often becomes *ṛ*, e.g. *kayaṛ* (rope), *payaṛ* (grain), *vayaṛ* (belly) etc.

R and *ṛ* occur as separate phonemes as in Tamil (*Vide* above).

Again, Skt. *rv* and *rn* are also pronounced as *ṛv* and *ṛn* in Malayāḷam, but *ry* (as in *kārya*) retains its value in Malayāḷam.

(*vi*) *Telugu.*

The modern dialect observes no distinction between *r* and *ṛ*, and uses *r* throughout in sound. The grammatical dialect or the *sādhu bhāṣā* which represents an ancient stage of Telugu, shows *ṛ* and employs a separate symbol for it, e.g., *andaṛu* (all), *nūṛu* (hundred), *āṛu* (six), *guṛṛamu*[1] (horse), *kaṛṛi* (black), *maṛṛi* (change). etc.

In some instances where Tamil uses *ṛ*, even literary Telugu uses the symbol *r* only :

kāṛu—*kāru* (Saltness)

(*vii*) *Kannaḍa* keeps fairly close to Tamil in preserving *r* in the symbols of the literary dialect, but the value given to it in modern spoken Kannaḍa is everywhere that of the post-dental *r*.

(*viii*) *Tuḷu* and *Koḍagu* have eliminated *ṛ* throughout in native words, e.g., *ār* (to grow cool) ; *mār* (to change) etc.

There is reason to think that in a large number of Tuḷu instances this elimination was caused not only by the mere replacement of *ṛ* by *r*, but also to the change of *r* to *d* or *dj* in certain positions, e.g., *madepu* to forget), *āji* (six), *kudi* (term), *pide* (to be born), *madæ* (screen), *kajæ* (stain) etc.

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etc., but if the first constituent of the group is voiced, the *r* is retained *griha*, *brāhmaṇa*, etc. *R* before other plosives voiced or voiceless, generally shows a tendency in Mal. to become *ṛ*, e.g., *vaṛga*, *maṛkaṭa* etc.

[1] It is interesting to note that double *r* in old Telugu is represented by *ṛṛ* and not *rr*. This shows how the "rolling" of the sound was recognised as greater in degree when the accent-influenced doubling became necessary. Conversely, when the ancient *ṛ* combined with other sounds in Telugu Samāsas, the "rolling,' was reduced, and the sound was represented by *r*, e.g., *āṛu* (six)+*garu* (persons=*ārguru*, etc.

(*ix*) *Kui* shows *ṛ* in rare instances like the following, e.g., *āṛpa* to hide), *vṛīsa* (to write) etc. Most of these cases of *r* appear to be peculiar to Kui, developed from *r* or *ḍ*, *ṭ*, etc.

But in a number of cases *ṛ* seems to have changed to *j*, e.g., *āji* (six], *pūnja* (to fly), *tōnja* (to appear ; cf. *tōṛ* cf. Kann.), *tija* (to turn), etc.

(*x*) Gōṇḍi speakers very freely interchange *r* and *ṛ* ; the ancient *ṛ* seems to have undergone changes, while the new *ṛ* is developed from *ṭ*, *ḍ*, etc :—

bappoṛ (when), *mūṛ* (to close—cf. South *mūḍu*) etc.

The change of *ṛ* to *s* (through an intermediate 'āydam'-like *h* ?) may be postulated in the following instances: ***ask*** (to cut, <***aṛk***), ***pesk*** (to pick, <*pirakk*).

r+*k* (plural ending) has given rise to *hk* in a few instances like the following :

kōr (horn)—*kōhk* (horns)

nār (village)—*nāhk* (villages) etc.

Compare the production of the minute glottal fricative called *āydam* in Tamil e.g. *kal*+*tīdu*<*kaht'īdu* (the stone is bad), where *l*+*t*>*ht'*, just as Gōṇḍi *r*+*k*>*hk*.

(*xi*) The sound represented by the symbol *ṛ* in Kurukh and Brāhūi grammars as occurring in these dialects, is really the North Indian flapped *ṛ*.

The influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan has levelled down older native *ṛ*'s to *r*, as illustrated by the following instances :—

Brāhūi *parra* (wing)—cf. Southern *paṛ*—(to fly)

Kurukh *ara* (sawing instrument)—cf. the southern base *aṛ* 'to cut.'

IV Combinative Changes

A few of these have already been referred to. Certain others in which *ṛ* is involved, occur in some of the southern dialects. They are indicated below :—

(i) *ṛ* changes into *t't'r* in the inflexional endings of Tamil nouns with final *ṛ*., e g., *āṛ* (river), *āt't'rai*, etc. This change does not appear to be represented in Kannaḍa or Tuḷu. Malayāḷam shows the same development as Tamil while Telugu and Gōṇḍi show *ṭ* or *t* in similar contexts arising from *ṛ*, e.g., *ēru* (river), *ēṭi*, etc.

(ii) *Ṛ* appearing finally in the first constituents of Tamil samāsas changes into *t't'r*, e.g., *kaḷit't'ru-yānai*. *āt't'ru-t-taṇṇīr*, etc.

No similar change is generally observable in the other dialects except Malayāḷam. Telugu, however, shows a few forms like *ciṭṭeluka* where -ṭṭ- is probably from *t't'r*.

(iii) Final *ṛ* of certain passive verb-bases becomes *t't'r* in their corresponding transitives and causatives, e.g., *māt't'ru* (to change) from *maṛ* (to become changed) etc.

Traces of these exist in Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam where the *r* of the consonant group has been eliminated. Kannaḍa shows the dental *t* while Malayāḷam shows the alveolar, e.g., Kannaḍa *māttu* and Mal. *māt't'u*.

(iv) A few derivative nouns from bases with final *ṛ* show *t't'r* as a development of *ṛ*, e.g., *kut't'ram* from *kuṛ*, *net't'ri* from *neṛ*, etc. Corresponding forms in Kannaḍa show dental *tt* while Malayāḷam retains alveolar *t't'*. There are a few Telugu instances like *vaṭṭu* (to be dried) where ṭ probably goes back to an original alveolar.

(v) In a number of other instances, forms with *nd'r* appear to be developments from bases with alveolar *r* or cerebral *ṛ*, e.g., *oru* (one), *ond'ru* ; *tūṛ*, *tūnd'ral* etc. While Telugu shows no correspondences answering to this particular development, Kannaḍa parallels show *n'd* for *nd'r* (cf. *on'du*, etc.) and Malayāḷam forms show *n'n'* (cf. *on'n'u* etc.)

(vi) Certain combinative changes appear to be clearly represented in Tamil ; these are the following :—

(*a*) Final *ṛ* of verb-bases combining with the Past Tense affix *t* become *t't'r*, e.g., *pet't'rān* (he obtained) from *peṛ* (to obtain) etc.

(*b*) *L* or *n* combining with *t* change into *t't'r*, as in *vit't'rān* (*vil*+*tu*), etc. *Cf.* here the production of -ṭ- when Kui final *l* of verb bases like *sol-* (to enter), combine with the dental tensė-particle -*t* ; probably the intermediate stage represented the alveolar *t'*. *Cf.* Winfield's observations on page 75 of his *Grammar.* Note also the production of -ṭ- in the inflexional endings of Tel "irregular nouns" with final -*l*, -*n* and -*r*.

(*c*) *L* or *n* combining with *p* or *k* changes into the alveolar plosive *t'*, as in *nal*+*pu*–*nat'pu*, *nil*+*ku*–*nit'ku* etc.

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar

Bharatavākya and the Bhagavadajjukam[1]

In view of the recent discussions[2] about the nature of Bharatavākya and Praśasti, the following observations will be found interesting. All the extant dramas have a Bharatavākya, which is generally introduced with expressions like किं ते भूयः प्रियं करोमि। and अतः परं प्रियमस्ति। तथापि इदमस्तु भरतवाक्यम्।

But Bhāsa has no such thing, It is true that there occurs a stanza at the end in Bhāsa-dramas, the subject-matter of which is similar to our usual Bharatavākya, but it is a matter of grave doubt whether the stanza was designated by the author as Bharatavākya or as Praśasti. Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra or for the matter of that so late a treatise as the Daśarūpaka does not theoretically recognise Bharatavākya; they only know Praśasti. Moreover, the term Bharatavākya devoid of expressions like किं ते भूयः प्रियं करोमि। etc., seen within brackets in our present printed copies of Bhāsa, might have been inserted by some later scribe. Yet Bhāsa-dramas do possess this Praśasti. But curiously enough, a prahasana named Bhagavadajjukaṃ,[3] a very refreshing comedy, has neither a Praśasti nor a Bharatavākya, though one of the Mss. mentions[4] a Bharatavākya which is identical with Nāgānanda's Bh.; and which should be for that very reason, rejected, as is done by the editor. The Prahasana ends with a simple and impressive description of sun-set.

The stanza runs thus :—

अस्तं गतो हि दिनलङ्गनावलम्बी
पूषामुखस्य इव समस्तुवर्णराशिः।
यस्य प्रभाभिरनुरञ्जितमेघवृन्द-
मालक्ष्यते दहनगर्भमिवान्तरिक्षम्॥

It will at once be noticed that the verse is neither a 'nṛpadeva-praśasti,' nor a 'devadvijanṛpatīnāṃ praśaṃsanam.' This total absence of Bharatavākya or Praśasti is seen in no other extant Sanskrit drama.

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[1] The title, I think, should be as put by me above and not as printed by Mr. Anujan Achan, for Śāṇḍilya's remark, "Bhagavadajjukaṃ nāma saṃvuttaṃ," (p. 87) corroborates my contention.

[2] I.H.Q., vol. I, p. 175; vol. III, pp. 485 ff.

[3] Ed. by Bannerji Śāstrī in Bihar and Orissa Research Journal, and by P. Anujan Achan.

[4] Bhag., p. 97.

This deviation from the usual convention is very bold, if deviation it is. Otherwise there can be two possible conjectures for the nature of the verse, viz., either the drama is incomplete (which it is evidently not), or else it was composed at a time when the dramaturgical rules of the extant Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra were not binding on this author.[1] But Winternitz does not find[2] the latter suggestion very satisfactory. I, however, think it *plausible* that this small prahasana was written before the time of the present Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra or at least before it acquired such a Śāstric authority. My reasons for so thinking are these :—

(1) The fact is already noted by Winternitz[3] that the prologue to this Prahasana knows a classification of the types of plays considerably different from our present treatise on dramaturgy.

The portion runs thus :—

अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु वारेहामृगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणस(? सं)ल्लापवीथ्युत्सृष्टिकाङ्कप्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानम् ।

This evidently shows some distinct principle of division as Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa. They are taken here as the basis of the other ten species, while according to our present theory, they themselves form the first two species. Out of the ten types counted above Sallāpa, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka and Vāra, as main species of drama, are unknown to any of the present theorists. Saṃllāpaka, however, appears as an uparūpaka in the Sāhityadarpaṇa ; Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, though nowhere seen in that form, seems to be a variety of Aṅka, which is recognised by all, while Vāra does not appear anywhere in the extant literature.[4]

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[1] This absence of Praśasti or Bharatavākya lends support to M. Ghosh's suggestion that Praśasti did not form a part of the drama, which formally ended with Kāvyasaṃhāra. Yet Bharata enjoins Praśasti, the absence of which in the present play would uphold the view propounded above. Moreover Kāvyasaṃhāra is technically the conclusion of the plot by showing Varāpti, which also is not done in this drama, thus showing its lose adherence to theory.

[2] Bhag., Preface.

[3] Bhag., Preface.

[4] Ashokanath Bhattacharya seems to think that this passage refers to twelve Rūpakas, (I.H.Q., vol. II, 414). The tradition about twelve Rūpakas is to be seen only in one other place. C. D. Dalal in his Introduction to the Pārthaparākrama gives a list of the

This I think indicates a time when the theory was not finally fixed. The very presence of Sallāpa and Utsṛṣṭikāṅka in the enumeration of the main types, shows that as yet the later main rūpakas and uparūpakas were not properly settled.

(2) The absence of the mention of the author's name and the play's title in the prologue, which feature is also shared by Bhāsa-dramas, may also indicate an earlier origin, though I confess that by itself, it would not be sufficient to prove its pre-Bhāsa composition.

(3) Death of Vasantasenā on the stage, which violates the usual theory (though as late and staunch a drama as Nāgānanda betrays the same feature), is a characteristic which is also shared by Bhāsa-dramas.

(4) Vasantasenā at two places, where she recites the Āryās, resorts to Sanskrit without any stage-direction which goes against the conventional practice of all our existing dramas.

(5) Lastly is this omission of Bharatavākya or Praśasti. I think that all the above features, which militate against Bharata's rules, taken together may indicate that our play was composed at a time when the present stereo-typed rules of Dramaturgy as enjoined by Bharata and others were not supreme.

I take this opportunity of showing that the play as printed is considerably mutilated. At two places, at least, the printed prose portions show a probable verse form. On page 26 there is a quotation which forms two Pādas of an anuṣṭubh :

न्यस्तमुसले व्यङ्गारे सर्वभुक्तजने काले ।

---

dramatic works of Gujrat. He incidentally points out that as regards the famous Prabandhaśata of Rāmacandra, "the following note is found in an old paper leaf containing notes on mss. 'रामचन्द्रकृतं प्रबन्धशतं द्वादशरूपकनाटकादिस्वरूपज्ञापकं ५०००,' from which quotation he inferred that the Prabandhaśata was one single work not 100 different works as hitherto believed. But for our purpose the mention of 12 Rūpakas has a new interest in view of the above passage of the Bh. The same quotation about the Prabandhaśata was pointed out in the Gujrati quarterly Purātattva (vol. II, p. 421), where it was further remarked that Rāmacandra might have developed the 12 Rūpakas mentioned by his Guru Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana. If this Prabandhaśata discussed only these 12 Rūpakas, it must have been a very erudite discussion, as its length is computed at 5000 ślokas.

And on page 90 one whole verse seems to have been printed in prose form :

मूर्ख वैद्य हयाहृद प्राणिनामन्तकमपि ।
न जानीषे कतमेनेयं सर्पेण व्यापादितेति ॥

I do, however, note that the metrical precision in the above lines is loose, which may be restored by proper textual-collation.

D. R. MANKAD

A Further note on Bharatavākya

Mr. Vibhutinath Jha has set forth his objections against my "Note on Bharatavākya (*IHQ*, vol. V, pp. 549 ff.) in the form of another note (*IHQ*, vol. VI, pp. 175 ff.).

But unfortunately his objections betray the unpleasant fact of his failure to catch my point. And the hollowness of the statements of Mr. Jha was laid bare by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh in his paper *Bharatvākya* (*IHQ*, vol. VI, pp. 485 f.) which indirectly lends support to my thesis.

Far from citing a passage in any work on dramaturgy having reference to the Bharatavākya, Mr. Jha vaguely proceeds to say that "the earliest works on dramaturgy *seem* to make referance to............ *Bharatavākya*". But we frankly confess our inability to realise how and where such a reference is made. Nor are we able to understand how the question of 'seeming' comes in.

And we may here point to some more authorities, not mentioned in my original paper, who are also found not to have made any reference to the *Bharatavākya*. Abhinavagupta, the celebrated author of a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata does not mention anything like *Bharatavākya* when commenting on a verse (XIX, 95) of Bharata which tells of the Praśasti. Sāradātanaya (12th-13th cent.) in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* 'a compendium of all activities of the writers on literary criticism from Bharata down to Kṣemendra' (as it is described in the preface to the work published in the Gaekwad's Oriental series) has no reference to the *Bharatavākya*. Neither do Rāmacandra, author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* or *Naṭarājayaśobhūṣaṇa* make any mention of it.

This conspiracy of silence may be accounted for by the supposition that the designation *Bharatavākya* was meant only as a stage-direction to indicate the way of application of the Praśasti even on the supposition of its identity with BV which was however a fact at least later on. But even in that case it is not possible for us to say when the term came to be used for the first time.

Mr. Jha has, on the otherhand, made on attempt, influenced by preconeived notions, to show that the Praśasti (and as a consequence the BV) formed an integral part of the drama. He seeks to point out that a clear connecting link between the drama and the verses under the name of BV has been preserved by expressions like *tathā-pīdam astu*. But a critical eye will notice that the subject-matter of the verse in question, viz. praising the king, scarcely fits in with the character of a king. It was also pointed out that such expressions are not founded in all works.

The real nature of the application of the verse has been made clear not only by commentators like Pṛthvīdhara and Rāghavabhaṭṭa, but also authors of rhetorical works like *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. It is however curious that Mr. Jha definitely suspects the accuracy of the statement of Pṛthvīdhara (p. 176) without adducing any evidence for his doing so, and finds fault with me for having been led away by this old commentator. I plead guilty to his charge, for in these cases, in the absence of any cogent proof to the contrary, we have no other course left than to be guided by the statements of old writers which are based on older tradition.

Mr. Jha is perplexed (p. 177) by the possibility of existence of separate BVs belonging to different parties. But does that possibility involve any inconsistency? If a party and not a poet was responsible for the nāndī or the initial benedictory verse (as is stated in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*), I do not see any reason why the same thing will not be true in the case of the concluding benedictory verse as well.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A Note on Meherunnisa and Jehangir

According to Dr. Beni Prasad, the chief biographer of the 4th great Mughal emperor, the story of Jehangir's amour with Meherunnisa, later on the celebrated empress Nurjehan, has to be rejected, because while it is found 'nowhere in the earlier half of the seventeenth century,' we find it everywhere in the record of the subsequent generations. But while reaching this conclusion, Dr. Beni Prasad seems to have lost sight of the fact that the Rajput record, which vouches for its truth, belongs not to the latter, but to the earlier half of the seventeenth century. The Phalodi Khyat which was written when Rājā Sura Singha (1622-31) ruled at Bikaner states explicitly that the emperor had been in love with Nurjehan before her marriage with Sher Afgan. The passage dealing with this question has been translated by Dr. L. P. Tessitori as follows :—

"The emperor Jehangir, when still a prince, had an amour with Nur Mahal, a daughter of Itmad Dola and sister of Asaf Khan. After becoming emperor, he put her husband to death and took her into his harem, and gave her the name of Nur Mahal, and raised her above all the concubines in the harem. (Not only this but) he placed the whole empire into her hands and he became her slave".

Further we might add to this the testimony of Joannes De Laet, whose 'De Imperio Magni Mogalis, sive India vera commentarius. E varijs auctoribus congestus' was first published in 1631 A.D., and cannot therefore be said to belong to the latter half of the century. He writes that Jehangir had been in love with Nurjehan while she was still a maiden during the life-time of Akbar, but as she had been already betrothed to the Turk Sher Afgan, the emperor did not allow Selim to marry the girl, although he (Selim) never lost his love for her.

These two independent sources of testimony,—the one, an extract from a contemporary Rajput record, and the other, the substance of the remarks of a contemporary foreign traveller should, I think, lead one to suspect the existence of such a love-affair even if no other sources of evidence were available. But when we find everyone in the latter half of the seventeenth century repeating this story, and when we take the peculiar circumstances of the case into consideration, the suspicion turns almost into certainty. As for the non-mention of the matter by the court historians of Jehangir and Shahjehan, this can be, as surmised by Dr. Beni Prasad himself, best explained by the fact that 'no court historian would dare to refer to a scandal dishonourable to the whole dynasty'.

DASHARATHA ŚHARMA

Notes on Asoka Rescripts

ALAM CAPALAM SAMĀDAPAYITAVE.—P. E. I. *Capalaṃ* has been taken to mean "fickle (persons)" by Hultzsch (*Corpus*, p. 120) and "the fickle-minded" by Bhandarkar (*Aśoka*, 1925, p. 306). There is, however, nothing in the context to warrant this sense. In the Pali canon we meet with a verb *samādapeti* in the sense of inducing or urging *others* to a particular course, in contra-distinction to one's following it *oneself*. Thus, in Aṅg. II, pp. 253-256, we have a series of expressions, such as *attanā ca pāṇātipātī hoti parañ ca pāṇātipāte samādapeti* side by side with *attanā ca pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti parañ ca pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā samādapeti*, and so forth. Buddha himself is known in the canon as a *samādapetā*, 'arouser,' 'instructor' of people, and it seems that Asoka had become another such in his own time. The same force is present again in the Pali expression *ekacce attanā deti parañ ca samādapeti* (DhA., III, p. 17), which means 'some not only themselves bestow gifts but urge others to do the same'. Wishing others to perform meritorious deeds is an attitude of mind which appeals also to Asoka, as is evident from the general tenour of his Rescripts, e. g., R.E.v : *tathaṃ ca me praja anuvaṭatu* (Mansehra). See also the concluding portion of R.E.VI. The idea of *para-samādapana* or *janasamādapana* is also latent in what is known in Pāli literature as "dhammaghosakakamma", e.g., DhA. III, pp. 81-82 "*mahājanaṃ samādapetvā puññāni karomi, uposathadivasesu uposathaṃ samādiyāmi, dānaṃ demi, dhammaṃ suṇāmi,* Buddharatanādīhi sadisaṃ ratanaṃ nāma n'atthi tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ sakkāraṃ karothā ti ugghosento carāmi." It is interesting to note that Asoka also speaks of 'dhaṃmaghoso' in R. E. IV., and when we find that the deeds implied by the Pali quotation, especially those contemplated in the italicised expressions, have also been recommended and, in some cases, actually performed by Asoka himself, it becomes easy to understand the sort of *dhaṃmaghosa* which was his. *Mahājana-samādapana*, if we may be allowed to call it so, was, therefore, one of the sacred tasks Asoka had set for himself. If that is so, then we had better read *Alaṃ ca palaṃ samādapayitave* instead of combining *ca* and *palaṃ* into *capalaṃ* as has been done hitherto, and translate the expression "And (my *pulisās* are) able to urge others (to do it," viz., to conform to and practise morality).

ETADATHĀ.—P. E. VII. l. 24. Hultzsch (*Corpus*, p. 135, n. 5) equates *athā* with *athāya* and refers for comparison to the expression *etāya athā* in R. E. XII (Girnar), ll. 8-9, where *athā* is dative, and also to a parallel (*bhojanatthā*) in Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 67. Although in the Asoka Rescripts we come across such separate words as *etāya athāya* (R. E. IV, V, VI, XII, XIII), *etāye athāye* (R. E. III, IV, V, IX, XIII, etc.), or such *sandhi*-joined expressions as *etāyāṭhāye* (R. E. XII, Kālsi), *e[t]āyaṭhāya* (M. R. E. I, Brahmagiri), *etā[y]eṭhāye* (R. E. VI, Kālsi), nowhere do we find the *samāsa*-formed word *etadathā* except in the present instance, *viz.*, P. E. VII, l. 24. Of such a *samāsa* form I have met with an exact counterpart in Aṅg. I, p. 198, from which I would quote at some length :

> "Kathāsampayogeṇa bhikkhave puggalo veditabbo yadi vā sa-upaniso yadi vā anupaniso ti.
>
> Anohitasoto bhikkhave anupaniso hoti ohitasoto sa-upaniso hoti. So sa-upaniso samāno abhijānāti ekaṃ dhammaṃ parijānāti ekaṃ dhammaṃ pajahati ekaṃ dhammaṃ sacchikaroti ekaṃ dhammaṃ. So abhijānanto ekaṃ dhammaṃ... ....sammāvimuttiṃ phusati. *Etadatthā* bhikkhave kathā *etadatthā* mantanā *etadatthā* upanisā *etadatthaṃ* sotāvadhānaṃ yadidaṃ anupādā cittassa vimokho."

And the gloss on the italicised words is as follows :

> "Bhikkhave yā esā 'kathāsampayogenā' ti kathā dassitā sā *etadatthā*, ayaṃ tassā kathāya bhūmi, ayaṃ patiṭṭhā, idam vatthuṃ, yadidaṃ anupādā cittassa vimokho ti evaṃ sabbapadesu yojanā veditabbā" (Manorathapūranī, Siamese edition),

which may be rendered : 'O bhikkhus, what has been said here in the words "Kathāsampayogena etc." (of the text) *has this for its root purpose*, namely, complete emancipation of the citta, that is to say, it is the plane, the basis, the ground of that saying.'

It is clear that *etadatthā* or *etadatthaṃ* of the Aṅguttara passage is an adjective, a compound of *eta* and *attha*, meaning 'fraught with this intent', which is not different from the sense 'for this purpose' or 'on this account', hitherto read into the inscriptional term *etadathā*, taken as dative substantive by Hultzsch. But however justified and acceptable Hultzsch's interpretation may be, may not the term, on account of its close rapprochement, be derived in the same way as its Pali counterpart 'etadatthā', being regarded as an adjective qualifying *esa* in "esa kaṭe" ? If so, the final *ā* of of *etadathā* will have to be regarded as due to the usual lengthening of finals in

Topra, as Woolner points out (*Asoka Glossary*, p. 75, sub voce). The whole expression—*Imaṃ cu dhaṃmānupaṭīpati anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti etadathā me esa kaṭe* of P. E. VII, may thus be rendered "By me this has been instilled with this purpose viz., that people might also conform to this consistent practice of Dhaṃma". As a matter of fact, we find Asoka extremely anxious for "anulupā dhaṃmavaḍhi" towards the commencement of P.E. VII, and this was the foundational purpose for which he inaugurated his 'dhaṃmānusathini' (to which end he instituted the 'dhaṃmathaṃbhāni', which were to bear his moral instructions, and the 'dhaṃma-mahāmātā', who were to give effect to them) and 'dhaṃmasāvanāni' (the moral instructions themselves and proclamation thereof), a purpose which could only be fulfilled through 'dhaṃmāpadāna' (inculcation of morals, admonition) on his own part and 'dhaṃmānupaṭipati' (conforming to it) on that of the people for whom it was meant.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

REVIEWS

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA, Vol. I, Pre-historic India: by V. Rangacharya, M.A., Professor of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras. Huxley Press, 1929, 229 pp. with an index.

Prof. Rangacharya has set himself to a most arduous and ambitious task. He has designed to write a History of India in nine volumes from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest—a programme that, in fact, requires the combined efforts of a number of scholars than of a single individual. Whosoever has worked in the field of Indology knows too well how complex and perplexing is the web of Indian history, but Prof. Rangacharya has the courage, and it seems, the equipment as well to dash through it and work it out single-handed to a complete and successful issue. Even in the first volume, which is under review, he has given evidence of his capacity, more so of his historical outlook ; and let us assure him at the very outset that he has begun well.

The present volume purports to give 'a succinct picture of the evolution of India and her races and culture in the ages which preceded the Vedic era', and ends very fittingly with the advent of the Aryans. The whole volume thus provides the background in which the Vedic period of Indian history had its setting. A list of the main headings of its contents would convince the reader of the extensive ground it covers. In the first chapter, our author traces the geographical evolution of India, in course of which he discusses the different geological epochs, and the formation of Indian geographical configuration. This is proved by a general discussion of the various theories about the origin of man and his birth-place which very naturally leads to the subject of the general features of the Eolithic age, the diffusion of Eolithic culture and India's part in it. The third chapter is devoted to a survey of the Paleolithic age and its general characteristics. In this connection the Paleolithic sites in South India and the Dekkan have been examined in detail, and a very interesting comparative study has been made of Paleolithic drawings and paintings. The next two chapters are devoted to the study of the ethnological basis of transition from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic age. In this connection a general account has been given of the

Negritos, Pre-Dravidians and Mundas; and the different theories with regard to the Dravidians have been examined in detail. The Aryan and Dravidian problem has received due attention; the different ethnological groups in relation to the Dekkan and North-India have been carefully studied and the bearings of anthropology on this important problem discussed. The sixth chapter is concerned with a study of the neolithic age in connection with which the author discusses among others the nature of Indian neolithic settlements, neolithic sites in India, the world-unity of neolithic culture, life, art, religion and culture of neolithic time, survivals of neolithic life, neolithic elements in modern culture, and what is more important, he traces the germs of caste-system in the regional communities of neolithic times. The advent of metals forms the subject-matter of the next chapter. With the two concluding chapters which deal with the Indus Valley civilisation and the Aryans respectively, the author launches into what we may now designate as the beginning of the historical period of Indian history. A very succinct picture has been given of the Indus Valley Civilisation, in course of which he has rightly discussed the importance of the Indus Valley finds, the relative antiquity of the Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Indus civilisations, and the ethnology of the Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro people. He has described the archaeological remains, the cities, horses and temples of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro, their pottery, seals and other minor antiquities, and the religious faith and funeral custom of the people. In the last chapter he discusses almost all the important theories about the Aryan home, and the date of the beginning of Aryan culture; but more important is his discussion of the bearing of the Sindh discoveries on the question.

It is evident that the author has traversed an extensive ground where every step requires more or less cautiously to be laid. The chapters are, therefore, more or less hypothetical in character, and there have cropped up a number of contending theories with regard to each individual matter and problem. Moreover, an almost bewildering mass of materials in the field of geology and pre-historic archæology, ethnology and anthropology, as well as studies and contributions by different authorities on the subject have been made available in recent years. All these had to be reckoned, studied and analysed in the preparation of this volume which is undoubtedly a difficult task. But Prof. Rangacharya has done it successfully. There is, however, hardly any outstanding original contribution towards the elucidation of the many knotty problems with which the present volume deals,—the author hardly claims to have any such—, nor does he hazard any new theory with regard to them; he has certainly done well in not adding to the already bewildering number of contending theories. But he has studied all materials and authorities thoroughly, summarised all important findings and theories, and have criticised them whenever required, and, what is most required, has successfully attempted to correlate the results of his almost exhaustive studies of all these findings and materials into a well-connected and well-presented historical narrative.

That this volume has had to be printed in a hurry which, however, is unaccounted for, is evident from a number of typographical errors as well as from traces of hasty composition. But the defects are negligible when the merits are compared. Almost all sources and source-materials have been referred to and discussed, and the bibliography at the end of each chapter is on the whole exhaustive. Prof. Rangacharya has certainly been successful 'to leave in the mind of the reader a picture of what India was before the commencement of the Vedic age of her history.' This volume would be useful to all students and scholars interested in the study of ancient Indian history and culture. We congratulate our author on what he has done, but more for what he is going to do. We shall eagerly await the publication of the future volumes of the series.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

NOTES ON SHRI MAHA-LAKSHMI TEMPLE, KOLHAPUR by K. G. Kundangar, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Foreword by Rev. H. Heras, S. J. of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, 43 pp., 16 plates.

This short monograph is concerned, as its title indicates, with a concise and systematic account of the famous Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī or Ambābāi temple of the city of Kolhapur. It deals with the traditions and mythological accounts with regard to the temple, the history and general description of the people, its religious importance, its sculptures and decorative embellishments, its architecture, in fact, everything important that is to be said in connection with it. It is thus 'a valuable contribution' as Rev. Heras puts it, 'to the archæological studies of Southern India'; and certainly facilitates the work of the future historian of the Silharas.

In the first chapter of the Monograph, the author narrates the mythological accounts in connection with the goddess Mahā-Lakṣmī, and gives an explanatory list of temples that were built from time to time round about the famous shrine. The second chapter deals with the history of the building of the temple which is, as usual, shrouded in a cloud of incredible legends and traditions. Relying on the mythological account as given in the Karavīra-Māhātmya, Mr. Kundangar seems to conclude that it was by about the 3rd century B.C. that the original image of the goddess Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī had been set up for public-worship. This is, however, doubtful to the extreme; for we have hardly any archæological evidence as to the setting up of any anthropomorphic representation of a divinity for public worship as early as the 3rd century B.C. It is all the more incredible in view of the fact that the very conception of Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī is a complete one and could not have possibly originated at so early a date. Like most of the brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses Mahā-Lakṣmī must have been a conception of the Purāṇic pantheon; the story in the Karavīra-Māhātmya reads undoubtedly like a Purāṇic one, as it refers to the traditional enmity of the Nāga and Garuḍa, as also to the demon Mahiṣāsura. It is evident that the whole story is a later creation of the highly imaginative writers of the Purāṇas. But it is a reasonable hypothesis of the author that the present image of Mahā-Lakṣmī in the Ambābai temple was set up early in the 13th century from a small temple near Kapila-tīrtha. The temple, in fact, was originally built much earlier than the 13th century; and is associated with one Karṇa. a Cālukya king, as recorded in a spurious inscription (Ind. Ant., XXX, p. 201). Mr. Kundangar seems to hold that Karṇa was a real historical personage and that he was a king of the early Cālukya dynasty; the temple was, therefore, built by king Karṇa, according to our author, some time in the 7th century A.D. This is again a doubtful assertion; for, apart from the question if Karṇadeva was really a historical personage, or if he really belonged to the early Cālukya dynasty, the temple, judged by its architectural style and sculptural and decorative embellishments, cannot in any way be dated so early as the 7th century A.D. The architecture of the temple is purely Cālukyan as our author contends, and not Dravidian; but that is hardly any argument for ascribing it to so early a date. In fact, the temple cannot be dated in our opinion earlier than the eleventh century A.D. when a later Cālukya dynasty had already wrested Kolhapur from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (c. 973 A.D.). The architectural style is a local variation of what is ordinarily known as the later Cālukyan styles ; the pillars and pilasters, the cornice and parapet mouldings, the ground plan and the general form as well as the sculptures and decorative embellishment and last of all though not the least, the material which is fine grained black stone may favourably be compared with similar elements of contemporary monuments in Western India. Karṇadeva, then, if he was really a historical personage, should belong to the main or branch line of the later Cālukya dynasty, and be ascribed to a date not earlier than the 11th century A.D. The adjoining temples of Mahā-Kālī and Mahā-Sarasvatī were, however, built not until about two centuries later, i.e., by the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Originally the main temple was undoubtedly a Hindu one dedicated as it had been to Mahā-Lakṣmī, but later vicissitudes had transformed it into a Jain Basadi, so much so that the Jains assert that not only the temple but the image itself originally belonged to them. Mr. Kundangar has, however, shown good grounds to show that such a claim has no historical justification. The third chapter is devoted to a description of the temple, its plan, pillars, parapets, cornices, griezes, sculptures and other architectural and decorative motifs which are themselves proof enough against our author's contention as to the early dating of the temple. The fourth chapter describes the image of Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī itself and discusses its iconographic and religious importance.

This small brochure is not without drawbacks, but is nevertheless useful. We may, therefore, safely commend it to all students of South Indian history and archaeology. But we would like to request our author to be a bit more historical, and exhaustive in his references. He would also do well to follow a systematic and generally accepted method of transliteration, as also to use diacritical marks. To write Śrī Mahā-Lakṣmī, (or 'Lakṣmī) as Shri Maha-Lakshmi in a book concerned with historical and archaeological studies is indeed a drawback that cannot and should not be easily overlooked.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

HISTORY OF KERALA by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Edited by T. K. Krishna Menon, vol. II, 1929. Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernaculam.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of Indologists extending over a period of more than a century, the rough outline of the history of India is now practically settled from about 600 B.C. to the modern period. But no comprehensive and detailed history of India can really be undertaken unless all the important sources of Indian history are edited and published in convenient form and thus made accessible to the general historian. By publishing the second volume of Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala*, the editor has made available much valuable material for the history of Malabar (the ancient Kerala) of the early 18th century. The title would, however, disappoint those who would expect in the work an effort to furnish a connected history of the land. For, as has been pointed out by the reviewers of vol. I, what the late Mr. P. Menon has really done is to reprint with copious notes the English translation of a group of nineteen letters which Visscher, a Dutch missionary, wrote to his friends and relatives in Europe from Malabar. The volume under notice contains eleven letters from IX to XIX.[1]

Jacobus Canter Visscher was born in Harlingen in Holland. "From his youth upwards he took delight in reading accounts of travels and was filled by them by a desire to visit distant lands and nations, and to ascertain the truth or falsehood of other writers. This desire grew so irresistible that though not without hope of promotion in his native country, he accepted an appointment from the East India Company".[2] Visscher arrived in Batavia in 1716. He then served as chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1723. In 1725 he went back to Batavia as a "Minister of God's word". Visscher was "induced to write these *Memoirs* by the desire to relate the various circumstances of which I have either been an eye witness or which I have heard from trustworthy persons......My observations will bear only upon the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, description of their kingdoms, as well as their origin and their modes of government, and other similar subjects."[1] Visscher published his *Memoirs* under the title *Malabar Letters* in Leeuwarden, in Holland in 1743. His work lay in comparative obscurity till a copy of his book "accidentally" fell into the hands Major Heber Drury, when the latter was at Cochin in 1860. He took it to England and had the entire work translated "with the exception of one or two chapters, relating to Java and the Dutch dependencies of the Eastern Archipelago." These were omitted as they had no connections with the Malabar coast. Drury published his English translation in June 1862.[2] In his preface Drury pointed out the existence of numerous valuable Dutch chronicles[3] "though but little known to us, chiefly of course from the fact of their being sealed up in a tongue which few care to acquire in the present day." Many of the Dutch and Portuguese chronicles appear to have been destroyed in Cochin in the first half of the nineteenth century. But many perhaps still remain in "dishonoured obscurity".

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[1] Major Heber Drury's English Translation contains eight more letters (XX—XXVII): Letter XX (Nairs), XXI (Chegos and other lower castes), XXII (Account of Tattares, Jogis, etc.), XXIII (Malabar temples), XIV (Superstitions of the Natives), XXV (Feast-days of Malabar, etc.), XXII (Account of peper, turmeric, cardamon and areca of Malabar), XXVI (Description of Cocoa-palm, Malabar cinnamon, sanctity of cows and snakes, etc.): An account of Travancore.

[2] Extract from the Dutch editor's Dedication, 16th August, 1743.

The letters of Visscher throw a flood of light on the political social, religious and economic history of Malabar of the early 18th century, when the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the Danes were struggling for controlling the trade with India and the Far-East. In Letter IX he gives an account of the four "royal houses in Malabar, those of Travancore, Cochin, the Zamorin (Calicut) and Colastiri" and their various feudatories. Anyone going through this letter would at once feel that the usefulness of the work would have been greatly enhanced if there had been a map of Malabar in the volume, with the ancient and mediæval names printed in red. Letter X deals with some of the laws and customs of the people of Malabar. The most interesting part of this letter deals with the institution of "laying the property of another in arrest" and trial by ordeals. We are told that "when a Rajah owes money to a Brahmin who can adduce satisfactory proof of the debt, the creditor can demand the money of the Rajah, three distinct times, and if the Rajah still delays payment, the Brahmin brings a *rama* from a pagoda (*temple*), when the Rajah may neither eat, sleep or bathe till the dispute is settled and the *rama* removed" (p. 12). For cases where the king commits an offence compare Manu (VIII, 336) and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Mysore ed., 1919, p. 236). "Dubious cases in which no proof could be obtained" were decided by various ordeals. One of these ordeals took place "in a river or tank in which crocodiles are found. The *Cayman's* (alligators) pagoda on the river Cranganur close to Paliporte is especially famous for this process. A small heathen temple stands on the bank of a river, in which two crocodiles have for a long time been supplied, their daily food being thrown into the water, so that they were indeed by the bait to remain there. To undergo this ordeal, the accused is compelled, after solemn profession of innocence in presence of the Brahmins and nobles and of a great concourse of people to swim across the river and back, or if he cannot do this he must be dragged through holding on with his hand to a boat. If the crocodile put him under, it is a sign of his guilt, otherwise, he is released as innocent". It is interesting to note that something like this crocodile ordeal existed until quite recent times amongst the natives of Africa. Letter XI deals among other things with the national assemblies of Malabar which used to act as a check on the "arbitray power" of the Kerala kings. But unfortunately these were not held very often and used to meet only in emergencies. In giving a list of the sources of the revenue of the Cochin Rajah, Visscher makes the following interesting statement: "No one may wear whisker, except by his (king's) permission, for which a fine of acknowledgement must be paid, and then a great banquet must be celebrated in honour of those whiskers" (p. 19). Letter XII deals elaborately with the coins prevalent in Malabar such as Moorish *Rupees*, Hindu *Pagodas*, Japanese *Kobang* and *Itzeboo*, European "*rix dollars*, *ducatoons*, Spanish *matter* and *ducats*." Visscher mentions "our Malabar specie" separately. "It has a good deal of variety" but the gold and silver

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[1] Extract from the author's (Visscher's) preface.

[2] Printed by Gantz Brothers, at the Adelphi Press, 21 Rendall's Road, Vepery 1862. Drury's work contains in addition to Visscher's letters an account of Travancore and Fra Bartolomeos travels in that country.

[3] Drury advances the theory that persons bearing the name 'Canterfischer' in the Coromandel coast were probably descendants of this Dutch author.

Fanams and the copper or lead *Boeserokken* appear to have been the most important. But the most interesting was probably "a kind of money cowries,' which was used "not only in Bengal, but also exported in quantities to the West Indies." It may be mentioned that Yuan Chwang (Watters, vol I, p. 178) as early as the middle of the 7th century A.D. notices "cowries" as "media of exchange" in the "commerce" of India. Visscher claims to have seen Muslim coins bearing the "twelve signs at the Zodiac"[1] and "the likeness of a man." Letter XIII deals with the ecclesiastical and temporal grandees in Malabar" and the "customary salutations between the higher and lower orders in their daily intercourse" while letter XIV which was written to Visscher's mother gives an account of the "description of the costume, habits, etc of the women of this country." That early marriage was prevalent in Malabar in the 18th century is clear from the following: "A girl is considered marriageable when she has attained her 13th year; and then all the suitors begin to flock around her. As she attains womanhood earlier, so her bloom is proportionately sooner over than our country." The Dutch writer approves and prasies the system of management of the children by the native woman of Malabar and ascribes to this reason "why so few men of dwarfish stature are found in India, whereas they abound in Europe" (p. 34). Letter XV is devoted to an account of the religion and customs of the Topases, a Christian community of Malabar, the greater part of which were "offspring of a great number of enfranchised Portuguese slaves". "They like to class themselves with the Portuguese whom they call *our people* (Teur nossa genti), though these, owing to their native pride, despise them even more than we do, always styling them Negroes or blacks. The Topases however are not a whit discouraged by this treatment and not only give themselves Portuguese names, but are in the habit of choosing those that belong to the nobelest Portuguese and Spanish families. They affect very haughty airs, and teach their children always to address them as "*My Lord, my father* (Senhor mei pai). The ignorance of the priests of this Christian community would be clear from the following: "One of the Dominican parish priests, a white European, being advanced in years was waited on by our visitors of the sick, who, knowing no other language, began to converse with him in Dutch. The priest remarked: 'I understand the Latin you are speaking very well, but I don't know quite well enough to make answer in it'." Another priest when asked "who first existed, Christ or the Christians?............in his simplicity made answer 'the latter'."

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[1] Cf. 'Zodiacal gold mohurs' of the Tīmūrid Jahāngīr (1605-27). Stanley Lane Poole, *Mediaeval India* (Story of the Nations Series), p. 319.

Letter XVI gives a description of the St. Thomas or Syrian Christians, their origin, early history and religion. Mr. Menon's note on the *Traditions of St. Thomas* is useful, for in it the author has collected most of the arguments for and against the genuineness of the tradition that the "Apostle St. Thomas landed at Malankara near Cranganur, founded seven churches and finally suffered martyrdom at Mylapore near Madras". Commenting on the apocryphal Acts of *Judas Thomas the Apostle*, according to which St. Thomas visited the court of the Indo-Parthian king Gudnaphar (Gondopharnes), Prof. Rapson has remarked: "The legend of St. Thomas has thus been furnished with an historical setting which is chronologically possible".[1] As there was regular maritime communication between Barbaricum (on the Indus Delta), in the empire of Gondopharnes and Muziris (Cranganur) in the first century A.D.[2] there is no inherent impossibilty in the acceptance of the tradition. Another apocryphal work, the *Evangelium Ioanis de obitu Mariae* gives the name of Mazdai, "whom St. Thomas also visited and under whom he suffered Martyrdom".[3] Is it possible that Mazdai was the king of the Mylapore region? Letter XVII is devoted to an account of the "Roman Catholic priests in Malabar and their converts among the heathen". Referring to the Jesiut Archbishop and Bishop in Cochin and its neighbourhood, who were appointed by the King of Portugal to look after the Christians "of the Romish persuasion," Visscher remarks: "they are the *craftiest spies* of the Portuguese monarch, prying into the affairs of the company, and imbuing the natives with deep aversion to the Dutch." We are not sure that native patriotism and narrow sectarianism were not getting the better of him here over his veracity and Christian conscience. Our suspicion finds support when we find Visscher censuring commandant Ketel because he allowed "Romish priests" not only to visit the condemned criminals of their persuasion in Cochin, but even to accompany them to the scaffold"; and praising the present commandant Hertenberg, "who is a man of noble character", for having "done away with these irregularities." The following observation of Visscher however is interesting: "Except the St. Thomas' Christians all those who are converted by the Roman Catholics are either the slave children of Christians, like most of the Topasses or of the lowest sort of Heathens, none being higher than the *Chegos*. Few Brahmins, Chetriahs (*Kṣatriyas*) or Śūdras adopt their religion; indeed, we might suppose that low castes do so generally, in order to escape the contempt in which they are held by nation." These remarks of the Dutch missionary on the spread of Christianity among the Indian masses are largely true even after the lapse of more than two hundred years. Letters XVIII and XIX are devoted to the "Jews, black and white" and the Moors (Muslims) of Malabar. Visscher clearly indicates the reason why the Moors, the friends of the Zamorin of Calicut "nourish a rooted hatred" towards the Portuguese. The commerce of these coasts had remained with the Moors probably from the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*Balhaaī*) of Mānyakheṭaka[1] (*Mūnkīr*) if not earlier. The arrival of Vasco da Gama in the 15th century threatened this monopoly. "They disputed any share of it being usurped by the newcomers." The most interesting thing about the Jews and Muslims is however the fact that these non-Hindu communities lived and prospered under the rule of orthodox Hindu rulers for hundreds of years without apparently any serious religious persecution. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the *Veraval grant* of the Cālukya Arjunadeva (c. 1262-75), king of Kathiawar and Gujarat, which also bears witness to tolerance in religious matters of Hindu monarchs in Mediæval India. Nobody can fail to be struck by the generous statesmanship of the Hindu States which allowed Muslim communities to thrive and to build and endow mosques in the most sacred cities and places of India for it forms a remarkable contrast to the policy of plunder and desecration practised by the early Turkish conquerors of India. The latter gave up the liberal and tolerant

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 579.

[2] Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 37, 44, 165 and 205.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 579f,

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[1] He ruled in the Deccan from c. 753 to 970 A.D.

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policy of the Arab conquerors[1] and were thus largely instrumental in introducing into the complicated socio-religious structure of the Indian peoples a problem which remains unsolved even to this day.

In conclusion I beg to add that in addition to a map of Malabar, an introduction giving a short account of Visscher's life, and the previous publications of his letters, and a brief discussion of the history of Malabar and the Far East in the 2nd half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century would greatly enhance the usefulness of the work.

H. C. RAY

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Asia Major, vol. VIII, fasc. i, ii

SIEGFRID BEHRSING—*Das Chung-tsi-king des Chinesischen Dīrghāgama.*—Mr. Behrsing presents here a translation of the *Saṅgītisūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama* as preserved in Chinese versions. Wherever he has found the Pāli text of the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* corresponding to the Chinese version, he has reproduced it, and gave German translation of the portions which do not correspond with the Pāli text. To the translation (24 pages) he has appended exhaustive notes (90 pages) and a comparative table of the technical terms as found in the different versions of the *Saṅgīti Suttanta*, the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the Pāli texts.

L. D. BARNETT—*Index to the Section 'mDo' of Kanjur Manuscripts in the British Museum.* Dr. Barnett has given the Tibetan titles along with their Sanskrit restorations. He has also alphabetically arranged the Sanskrit titles.

Indian Antiquary, January, 1931

R. B. HALDAR—*Chittor and its Sieges.*

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM—*Sidi Ali Shebbi in India,* 1554-1556 A.D.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH—*Where was Tarkkāri?* The note supports the view that the village named Tarkkāri mentioned in the Silimpur stone inscription found in the district of Bogra in Bengal was situated in Puṇḍra or Gauḍa and should be identified with the city of the same name mentioned in the *Matsya-* and the *Kūrma-Purāṇas.*

Ibid., March, 1931

R. V. JAHAGIRDAR—*A Note on the Ten Plays of Bhāsa.* Basing his arguments on some internal evidences in the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa, the writer classifies them into several groups. As the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* and *Pañcarātra* have been found to resemble each other constituting one group and differing from the rest of the plays, the conclusion is drawn that all the plays cannot be the producttion of one and the same poet.

LILY DEXTER GREENE.—*Nature Study in the Sanskrit Drama Sakuntalā.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

vol. vi, nos. 1 and 2

GANGANATHA JHA.—*Kumārila and Vedānta.* The points of contact between Kumārila's Mīmāṃsā and Śaṅkara's Vedānta in regard to some essentials such as the nature of Ātman, the *summum bonum* of life, have been pointed out here.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*The Antiquity of the Poona District.*

K. B. PATHAK.—*On the Date of Śākaṭāyana-cintāmaṇi.* It has been shown here that materials from the *Śākāṭāyanacintāmaṇi* of Yakṣavarman were taken by Hemacandra for his grammatical works *Bṛhadvṛtti* and *Laghuvṛtti* proving that Yakṣavarman was anterior to Hemacandra who lived in the twelfth century A.C.

S. K. BELVALKAR.—*An Authentic but Unpublished Work of Śaṅkarācārya.* Attention of scholars has been drawn to the fact that Śaṅkara commented on the whole of the 2nd and the 3rd Āraṇyakas of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, and not on the last four chapters of the 2nd Āraṇyaka (II, 4-7) only as found in the extant editions of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya.* The point is proved by Sāyaṇa's statement at the beginning of his commentary on the 2nd Ār. of the *Ait. Ār.* as also by the existence of the commentary of the two Āraṇyakas in the Mss. deposited in some of the Oriental Libraries in Europe.

S. K. HODIVALA.—*Parsi Viceroy and Governors of Kathiawar.*

F. B. TYABJI.—*Social Life in 1804 and 1929 amongst Muslims in Bombay.*

K. G. KUNDANGAR.—*Development of the Kannaḍa Drama.*

Journal of Indian History, vol IX, pt. iii, Dec. 1930

ABDUL AZIZ.—*History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān* (Book II, Ch. II). This chapter treats of the Mughal Army. The writer, following Abūl Fazl's classification of the army, divides this chapter into the following sub-sections :

I *Manṣabdārs* and their followers corresponding to the cavalry of the present day. In this sub-section, the writer gives in detail the qualifications for the post of a Manṣabdār and his duties.

II *Ahadīs* were a special class of horsemen appointed to guard the Emperor's person, they possessed qualifications higher than those of Manṣabdārs.

III Piādagān, though usually translated by 'Infantry', includes also (i) Bundūq*ch*īs (Matchlock-bearers), (ii) Darbāns (Porters); (iii) Khidmatiya; (iv) Mewras (couriers); (v) *Sh*am*sh*erbāz (experts in feats of arms); (vi) wrestlers; (vii) *Ch*elas (slaves); (viii) Kahārs (letter-bearers) and Dākhite (foot-soldiers).

The writer gives also an account of the artillery of Humāyun, Akbar and others and completes his paper by giving an "estimate of the total strength of the Army".

H. N. SINHA—*The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi.* Mr. Sinha prefaces his article by a reference to the dominant note in the awakening of India in the 16th century, viz., Love and Liberalism. He also gives a survey of the then political condition of India. He regards the faith—Din-i-Ilahī—as the outcome of Akbar's eclecticism; he gives an outline of Akbar's lineage and environment, dwells on Sufism, Vaiṣṇavism, and the Mahdavi and Roshni movements. He has shown clearly how Akbar was influenced, or rather, allowed himself to be influenced by the contemporaneous religious and political events, and constituted out of many faiths the Divine Faith (Din-i-Ilahi). It contains an accurate study of the character of Akbar and the causes of his greatness.

S. S. SURYA NARAYANA SASTRI--*Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimekhalai.* The object of this paper is to refute the contention that the account of Buddhist logic given in the 29th chapter of the *Maṇimekhalai* is posterior to Diṅnāga. The writer gives a translation of the relevant portion of the Maṇimekhalai up to the account of the fallacies and gives his reasons for attributing an early date to the composition of the *Maṇimekhalai.*

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (1736-1761). The following topics are treated in this paper:—Events after the battle of Ambur—The victors at Pondicherry—English occupation of San Thome—Chanda Sahib's expedition to Tanjore—Operation at Tanjore—The coming of Nasir Jang into the Carnatic and the retreat of Chanda Sahib—First encounter with Nasir Jang.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. v, pt. i

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Forms for 'Betel leaf.'*

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*Amarakhaṇḍana of Śrī Harṣa.* This short Sanskrit text covering only eleven pages of the Journal is a criticism of the well-known lexicon of Amarasiṃha. Its importance lies in the fact that a number of authors and works hitherto unknown has been quoted here. This Harṣa was, as has been inferred by Mr. Chintamani from a piece of internal evidence, a son of Pārthasārathi Miśra, and therefore should not be identified either with the author of the *Ratnāvalī*, or with that of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita.*

D. T. TATACHARYA SIROMANI.—*Śānta—the Ninth Rasa.* The discussion centres round the controversy in the works of Poetics as to the propriety of the acceptance of *Śānta rasa* as a separate poetic sentiment.

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI—*The Chinese Suvarṇasaptati and the Māṭharavṛtti.* Suvarṇasaptati is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese name of Paramārtha's Chinese translation of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* and its commentary. As the *Gauḍapāda bhāṣya* and the *Māṭharavṛtti*, two Sanskrit commentaries on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* have various points of resemblance to Paramārtha's translation, some sort of relation among the three works is naturally sought to be established. The *Māṭharavṛtti*, having a closer affinity with the Chinese work, is taken by some scholars to be the original commentary. The writer of this article, however, points out some fundamental differences between Māṭhara and Paramārtha regarding both their doctrines and expositions, as shows that Paramārtha agrees more with Gauḍapāda than with Māṭhara. In some places, Paramārtha is fuller and clearer than either of the two Sanskrit commentators.

N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Madhyamārthasaṃgraha of Bhāvaviveka.* The short Sanskrit treatise containing 11 *anuṣṭubh* stanzas "on the nature of the Double Truth as accepted in the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist Philosophy" has been restored from the Tibetan version and translated into English.

A. PADMANABHAYYA.—*Ancient Bhṛgus.* The writer amplifies in this first instalment of his article the theme that the Draviḍas, Asuras and Bhṛgus are identical, "The amplified equation will be Asura-

Bhṛgu- Draviḍa- Pelasgian- Phrygian-Hittite-Phœnician Greek-Etrusean-Latin-Frank."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,

January, 1931

O. G. VON WESENDONK—*The Kālavāda and the Zervanite System.* The speculations as to time as prevalent in ancient India, Iran, Mesopotamia and the Hellenistic world have been compared in this paper. It has been shown that the Indian conception of Kāla has very little in common with the Zervanite theology of Iran, the former being a well-founded philosophical doctrine and the latter a religious dogma associated with various myths and legends.

Review of Philosophy and Religion,

vol. II, No. 1

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA—*New Light on the Gauḍapāda-kārikās.* The opinion that the kārikās of Gauḍapāda on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* have been mistakenly taken as part of the original *Upaniṣad*, by Madhvācārya is opposed by the writer on the ground of the reasonableness of Madhva's view, which was shared by many prominent writers of old.

Vivsabharati Quarterly,

vol. 8, pts. I & II

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA—*Mahāyāna Viṃśaka of Nāgārjuna.* This is a short Mahāyāna treatise representing the views of both the Vijñānavādins and the Mādhyamikas with a particular stress on the idealistic theory. The Sanskrit original of the kārikās, which is no longer extant, has been reconstructed from the available Tibetan and Chinese translations. An introduction and English translation with notes, as also the Tibetan and the Chinese versions are given here.

AMULYA CHARAN SEN—*Schools and Sects in Jain Literature.*

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Alatthun ti pubbe vattanayen' eva ehi bhikkhubhāven' eva alatthuṃ. Ito anantare pabbajitavāre pi es' eva nayo.

22. *Parivitakko udapādī* ti kadā udapādī ti. Sambodhito sattasaṃvaccharāni sattamāse sattadivase[1] atikkamitvā udapādi.

Bhagavā kira pitu saṃgahaṃ karonto vihāsi. Rājā pi cintesi "mayhaṃ jeṭṭhaputto nikkhamitvā Buddho jāto, dutiyaputto me nikkhamitvā aggasāvako jāto, purohitaputto dutiyaggasāvako,[2] ime ca avasesā bhikkhū gihīkāle pi mayhaṃ puttam eva parivāretvā vicariṃsu, ime[3] pubbe pi[4] idānī pi mayhaṃ yeva bhārā,[5] aham eva te[6] catūhi paccayehi upaṭṭhahissāmi, aññesam okāsaṃ na dassāmī" ti. Vihāradvārakoṭṭhakato paṭṭhāya yāva Rājagehadvārā ubhayato[7] khadirapākāraṃ kārāpetvā kilañjehi chādāpetvā vatthehi paṭicchādāpetvā upari ca chādāpetvā suvaṇṇatārakavicittaṃ [8]samolambitatālakkhandhamattaṃ vividhapupphadāmavitānaṃ kārāpetvā heṭṭhā bhūmiyaṃ[9] vicittattharaṇehi[10] attharāpetvā[11] anto ubhosu passesu mālāvacchake[12] pupphapuṇṇaghaṭe sakalamaggaṃ vāsatthāya ca gandhantare pupphāni pupphantare[13] gandhe ca ṭhapāpetvā Bhagavato kālam ārocāpesi. Bhagavā bhikkhusaṃghaparivuto antosaniyā va Rājagehaṃ gantvā bhattakiccaṃ katvā vihāraṃ paccāgacchati. Añño koci daṭṭhuṃ pi na labhati kuto pana bhikkhaṃ vā dātuṃ pūjaṃ vā kātuṃ dhammaṃ vā sotuṃ. Nāgarā cintesuṃ "ajja satthuno[14] loke uppannassa sattamāsādhikāni sattasaṃvaccharāni, mayañ ca daṭṭhum pi na labhāma, pāg eva bhikkham vā dātuṃ pūjaṃ vā kātuṃ dhammaṃ vā sotuṃ, rājā mayhaṃ yeva Buddho mayhaṃ yeva dhammo mayhaṃ yeva[15] saṃgho ti mamāyitvā sayam eva upaṭṭhahati,[16] satthā ca uppajjamāno sadevakassa lokassa atthāya hitāya[17] uppanno, na hi rañño va[18] nirayo[19] uṇho[20] aññesaṃ nīluppalavanasadiso, tasmā rājānaṃ vadāma, sace no satthāraṃ deti, iccetaṃ kusalaṃ, no ce deti, raññā saddhiṃ yujjhitvā pi saṃghaṃ gahetvā dānādīni puññāni karoma, na sakkā kho pana suddhanāgareh'eva[21] evaṃ kātuṃ, ekaṃ jeṭṭhakaṃ purisam pi gaṇhāmā" ti. Te senāpatim upasaṅkamitvā tass' eva tam attham ārocetvā "sāmi kim amhākaṃ pakkho hoti udāhu rañño" ti āhaṃsu. So "ahaṃ tumhākaṃ pakkho homi, api ca kho pana paṭhamadivaso mayhaṃ dātabbo ti pacchā tumhākaṃ vāro"[1] ti. Te sampaṭicchiṃsu. So rājānam upasaṅkamitvā "nāgarā deva tumhākaṃ kupitā" ti āha. "Kim atthaṃ tātā" ti. "Satthāraṃ kira tumhe yeva upaṭṭhahatha, amhe na labhāmā ti,sace idānī pi labhanti na kuppanti alabhantā tumhehi saddhiṃ yujjhitukāmā devā" ti. "Yujjhāmi tāta, nāhaṃ[2] bhikkhusaṃghaṃ demī" ti. "Deva tumhākaṃ dāsā tumhehi saddhiṃ yujjhissāmā[3] ti vadanti tumhe kaṃ gaṇhitvā yujjhissathā" ti. "Nanu tvaṃ senāpatī" ti. "Nāgarehi vinā na samattho ahaṃ devā" ti. Tato rājā balavanto nāgarā, senāpati pi tesañ ñeva pakkho ti ñatvā "aññāni pi sattamāsādhikāni[4] sattasaṃvaccharāni mayhaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ dadantū[5]" ti āha. Nāgarā na sampaṭicchiṃsu. Rājā cha vassāni pañca cattāri tīṇi dve eka vassa ti hāpeti. Evaṃ hāpente[6] pi na sampaṭicchiṃsu. Aññe satta divase ti[7] yāci. Nāgarā atikakkhaḷaṃ dāni raññā saddhiṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭatī ti anujāniṃsu. Rājā sattamāsādhikānaṃ sattannaṃ saṃvaccharānaṃ sajjitaṃ dānamukhaṃ sattannam eva divasānaṃ vissajjetvā[8] cha divase kesañci apassantānañ ñeva dānaṃ datvā sattame divase nāgare pakkosāpetvā "sakkhissatha tātā evarūpaṃ dānaṃ dātun" ti āha. Te pi "nanu amhe yeva nissāya taṃ devassa uppannan" ti vatvā "sakkhissāmā" ti āhaṃsu. Rājā piṭṭhihatthena[9] assūni puñchamāno Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā "Bhante, aham aṭṭhasaṭṭhi bhikkhusatasahassam aññesaṃ[10] bhāram[11] akatvā yāvajīvaṃ catūhi paccayehi upaṭṭhahissāmī" ti cintesiṃ, nāgarānaṃ dāni me anuññātā, nāgarā pi 'mayaṃ dānaṃ dātuṃ na labhāmā' ti kuppanti,[12] sve paṭṭhāya tesam anuggahaṃ karothā" ti āha. Atha dutiyadivase senāpati mahādānaṃ sajjetvā "ajja yathā añño koci ekabhikkham pi na deti evaṃ rakkhathā" ti samantā purise ṭhapesi. Taṃ divasaṃ seṭṭhibhariyā rodamānā dhītaram āha "sace amma tava pitā jīveyya ajjāhaṃ paṭhamaṃ Dasabalaṃ bhojeyyan" ti. Sā tam āha "amma mā cintayi, ahaṃ tathā karissāmi yathā Buddhappamukho bhikkhusaṃgho paṭhamam amhākaṃ bhikkhaṃ paribhuñjissatī" ti. Tato satasahassagghanikāya suvaṇṇapātiyā[13] nirudakapāyāsaṃ[14] pūretvā sappimadhusakkarādīhi abhisaṃkharitvā tam[1] aññissā[2] pātiyā pātiṃ paṭikujjitvā taṃ Sumanamālāguṇehi[3] parikkhipitvā mālāguṇasadisaṃ katvā Bhagavato gāmaṃ pavisanavelāya sayam eva ukkhipitvā dhātigaṇaparivutā gharā[4] nikkhami. Antarāmagge senāpatino upaṭṭhākā "amma mā ito agamāsī" ti vadanti. Mahāpuññā nāma manāpakathā honti, na ca tesaṃ punappunaṃ bhaṇantānaṃ kathā paṭikkhipituṃ sakkā honti. Sā "cūḷapitā mahāpitā mātulā, kissa tumhe gantuṃ na dethā" ti āha. Senāpatinā[5] "aññassa kassaci khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ dātuṃ mā dethā" ti ṭhapitamhā ammā" ti. Kiṃ pana me hatthe khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ passathā" ti. "Mālāguṇaṃ passāmā" ti. "Kiṃ tumhākaṃ senāpati mālāguṇapūjam pi kātuṃ na detī" ti. "Deti ammā" ti. "Tena hi apethā[6]" ti. Bhagavantam upasaṅkamitvā "mālāguṇaṃ gaṇhāpetha Bhagavā" ti āha. Bhagavā ekaṃ senāpatiss' upaṭṭhākam oloketvā mālāguṇaṃ gaṇhāpesi. Sā Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā "Bhagavā[7] bhavābhave nibbattiyaṃ me sati paritassanajīvitaṃ nāma mā hotu ahaṃ[8] Sumanamālā viya nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne[9] piyā manāpā va homi[10], nāmena ca Sumanā yevā" ti patthanaṃ katvā Satthārā "sukhinī hohī"[11] ti vuttā vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi. Bhagavā senāpatissa gehaṃ gantvā paññattāsane nisīdi. Senāpati yāguṃ gahetvā upāgañchi. Satthā pattaṃ pidahi. "Nisinno bhante bhikkhusaṃgho" ti. Atthi no eko antarā piṇḍapāto laddho ti mālāguṇam[12] apanetvā piṇḍapātam addasa. Cūḷupaṭṭhāko āha "sāmi mālā ti maṃ vatvā mātugāmo vañcesī" ti. Pāyāso Bhagavantam ādiṃ katvā sabbesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pahosi. Senapati pi attano deyyadhammaṃ adāsi. Satthā bhattakiccaṃ katvā maṅgalaṃ vatvā pakkāmi. Senāpati "kā nāma sā piṇḍapātam adāsī" ti pucchi. "Seṭṭhidhītā sāmī" ti. Sapaññā sā itthī evarūpāya ghare vasantiyā purisassa saggasampatti nāma na dullabhā ti tam ānetvā jeṭṭhakaṭṭhāne ṭhapesi. Punadivase nāgarā dānam adaṃsu punadivase rājā pī ti evam ekantarikāya[13] dātum ārabhiṃsu. Rājā pi cārapurise[14] ṭhapetvā nāgarehi dinnadānato atirekataraṃ deti, nāgarā pi tath' eva katvā raññā dinnadānato atirekataraṃ. Rājagehe nāṭakitthiyo daharasāmaṇere vadanti "gaṇhatha tātā na gahapatikānaṃ gattavatthādīsu[15] puñchitvā bāladārakānaṃ khelasiṃghāṇikādi-dhovanahatthehi kataṃ suciṃ paṇītaṃ katan ti. Punadivase nāgarā pi daharasāmaṇere[1] vadanti[2] gaṇhatha tātā na gāmanigamādīsu saṃkhaḍḍhitataṇḍulakhīradadhisappi-ādīhi na aññesaṃ jaṅghasīsapiṭṭhi-ādīni bhañjitvā āharāpitehi kataṃ, jātisappikhīrādīhi yeva katan ti. Evaṃ sattasu saṃvaccharesu ca sattasu ca māsesu sattasu[3] divasesu ca atikkantesu atha[4] Bhagavato ayaṃ vitakko udapādi, tena vuttaṃ 'sambodhito satta saṃvaccharāni satta māsāni[5] satta divasāni atikkamitvā udapādī 'ti.

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[1] Si. satta ca divase

[2] S. & Si. drop -agga-

[3] Si. imehi ; B. ime sabbe

[4] B. & S. drop pi.

[5] B. bhāro

[6] B. ne

[7] Si. ubhato

[8] Si. samosarita-

[9] Si. bhūmiṃ

[10] S. cittattharehi ; B. cittattharaṇehi

[11] Si. sattharāpetvā ; B. santharāpetvā

[12] Si. mālāsañcite

[13] Si. drops pupphāni pupphantare

[14] B. & Si. satthu

[15] B. eva

[16] B. upaṭṭhahi

[17] Si. drops it.

[18] B. yeva

[19] Si. narako

[20] B & S. add assa

[21] Si. yuddhaṃ nāgareheva kātuṃ ; B. has yuddhā for suddha.

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[1] Si. omits pacchā tumhākaṃ vāro.

[2] S. & Si drop it.

[3] B. yujjhāmā

[4] S. -ādhikaṃ

[5] B. dentū

[6] Si. cha vassāni pañca vassānī ti hāpetvā hāpente

[7] B. hi

[8] Si. sajjetvā

[9] S. piṭṭha-

[10] B. & S. aññassa

[11] B. vāraṃ

[12] B. adds here Bhagavā

[13] Si. kaṃsa-

[14] B. & S. pāyāsassa

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[1] B. & S. drop it.

[2] B. aññāya

[3] B. -gulehi

[4] Si. drops it ; B. nagarā

[5] Si. adds ṅa.

[6] B. repeats apetha.

[7] B. & S. drop it.

[8] Si. ayaṃ

[9] S. drops one nibbatta.

[10] B. ṭhāne pi yāva homi

[11] B. hotu

[12] B. & S. mālaṃ

[13] B. adds dānaṃ

[14] B. cara

[15] Si. bhattaṃ, vatthādīsu

23. *Aññataro mahābrahmā* ti dhammadesanam āyācitabrahmā va.

27. *Caturāsītim āvāsasahassānī* ti caturāsīti vihārasahassāni. Te sabbe pi dvādasasahassa[6]bhikkhugaṇhanakā mahāvihārā, Abhayagiri-Cetiyapabbata-Cittalapabbatamahāvihārā sadisā va ahesuṃ.

28. *Khantī paramaṃ tapo* ti adhivāsanakhanti nāma paramaṃ tapo.[7] *Titikkhā* ti khantiyā eva vevacanaṃ. Titikkhāsaṅkhātā adhivāsanakhanti uttamatapo ti attho. *Nibbānaṃ paraman* ti sabbākārena pana nibbānaṃ paraman ti vadanti Buddhā. *Na hi pabbajito parūpaghātī* ti yo adhivāsanakhantivirahitattā paraṃ ghāteti[8] upaghāteti bādheti ca hiṃsati[9] ca so pabbajito nāma na hoti. Catutthapādo pana tass' eva vevacanaṃ. *Na hi pabbajito* ti etassa hi na samaṇo hotī ti vevacanaṃ. *Parūpaghātī* ti etassa paraṃ viheṭhayanto ti vevacanaṃ. Athavā *parūpaghātī* ti sīlūpaghātī. Sīlaṃ hi uttamaṭṭhena paran ti vuccati. Yo ca samaṇo paraṃ yaṃ kiñci sattaṃ viheṭhayanto parūpaghātī hoti attano sīlavināsako so pabbajito nāma na hotī ti attho. Athavā yo adhivāsanakhantiyā abhāvanto[10] parūpaghātī hoti param antamaso ḍaṃsamakasam pi[11] jīvitā voropeti so na hi pabbajito. Kiṃ kāraṇā? Malassa apabbājitattā. Pabbājayam[12] attano malaṃ tasmā pabbajito ti vuccatī ti. Idaṃ hi pabbajitalakkhaṇaṃ.

Yo pi na he'va kho upaghāteti na māreti, api ca daṇḍādīhi viheṭheti so paraṃ viheṭhayanto samaṇo nāma[13] na hoti. Kiṃ kāraṇā? Vihesāya asamitattā. Samitattā hi pāpānaṃ[14] samaṇo ti pavuccatī ti idaṃ hi samaṇa-lakkhaṇaṃ.

Dutiyagāthāya *sabba-pāpassā* ti sabbākusalassa. *Akaraṇan* ti anuppādanaṃ.[1] *Kusalassā* ti catubhūmikakusalassa. *Upasampadā* ti paṭilābho. *Sacitta-pariyodapanan* ti attano cittajotanaṃ. Taṃ pana arahantena hoti. Iti sīlasaṃvareṇa sabbapāpaṃ pahāya samathavipassanāhi kusalaṃ sampādetvā arahattaphalena cittaṃ pariyodāpetabban ti etaṃ Buddhānaṃ sāsanam ovādo anusiṭṭhī ti.

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[1] B. drops it and puts dadamānā.
[2] S. adds nagara.
[3] S. & Si drop it.
[4] Si. evaṃ sattadivasā gatā atha
[5] Si. māse
[6] Si. drops bhikkhu.
[7] B. drops this line from ti.
[8] S. drops it.
[9] Si. vihiṃsati
[10] B. abhāvato
[11] B. adds saññicca.
[12] Si. pabbajayattano ; B. pabbājayatī attano
[13] B. drops it.
[1] B. drops it.

Tatiyagāthāya *anupavādo* ti vacāya kassaci anupavadanaṃ. *Anupaghāto* ti kāyena upaghātassa akaraṇaṃ. *Pātimokkhe* ti yan taṃ pa atimokkhaṃ atipamokkham uttamasīlaṃ pāti vā sugativisesehi[2] mokkheti ca duggatibhayehi yo vā naṃ pāti taṃ mokkhetī ti pātimokkhan ti vuccati tasmiṃ pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro. *Mattaññutā* ti paṭiggahaṇaparibhogavasena samaññutā.[3] *Pantañ ca sayanāsanan* ti sayanāsanañ ca saṃghaṭṭanavirahitan ti attho. Tattha dvīhi yeva paccayehi catupaccayasanto so dīpito hotī ti veditabbo. *Etaṃ Buddhānaṃ sāsanan* ti etaṃ parassa anupavadanam anupaghātanaṃ pātimokkhasaṃvaro paṭiggahaṇaparibhogesu mattaññutā aṭṭhasamāpattivasibhāvāya vivittasenāsanasevanañ ca Buddhānaṃ sāsanam ovādo anusiṭṭhī ti. Imā pana sabbabuddhānaṃ pātimokkhuddesagāthā hontī ti veditabbā. Ettāvatā ca iminā Vipassissa Bhagavato apadānānusāreṇa vitthārakathanena Tathāgatass'ev' esā bhikkhave dhammadhātu supaṭividdhā ti evaṃ[4] Tathāgatassa etam attham ārocesun ti vuttaṃ devatārocanaṃ pakāsetum 'ekam idāhan' ti ādim āha.

29 Tattha *Subhavane*[5] ti evaṃ nāmake vane. *Sālarājamūle* ti vanappatijeṭṭhakassa mūle. *Kāmacchandaṃ virājetvā* ti anāgāmimaggena mūlasamugghātavasena virājetvā. Yathā ca Vipassissa evaṃ sesabuddhānaṃ pi sāsane vuṭṭha[6]-brahmacariyā devatā ārocayiṃsu. Pāliyaṃ[7] pana Vipassissa c'eva amhākañ ca Bhagavato vasena āgatā. Tattha attano sampattiyā na hāyanti na vihāyantī ti Avihā. Na kañci sattaṃ tapantī ti Atappā. Sundaradassanā abhirūpā pāsādikā ti Sudassanā.[8] Suṭṭhu passanti sundaram etesaṃ vā dassanan ti Sudassī. Sabbe h' eva ca saguṇehi ca bhavasampattiyā ca jeṭṭhā natth' ettha kaniṭṭhā ti Akaniṭṭhā. Idha ṭhatvā bhāṇavārā samodhānetabbā. Imasmiṃ hi sutte Vipassissa bhagavato apadānavasena ubhayo[9] bhāṇavārā vuttā. Yathā ca Vipassissa evaṃ Sikhi-ādīnam pi apadānavasena

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[1] Si. anuppadaṃ.

[2] Si. bhayehi ; B. agativisesehi

[3] B. pamāṇaññutā

[4] Si. saṃsaṭṭha-

[4] B. adds vuttāya dhammadhātuyā suppaṭividdhabhāvaṃ pakāsetvā idāni devatā pi.

[5] B. Subhagavane

[6] B. vutta-

[7] B. & S. Pāli

[8] B. Sudassā

[9] B. tayo

vuttā va. Pāliyaṃ pana saṅkhittā. Iti sattannaṃ Buddhānaṃ vasena amhākaṃ Bhagavatā ekavisati bhāṇavārā kathitā tathā Avihehi tathā Atappehi tathā Sudassehi tathā Sudassīhi tathā Akaniṭṭhehī ti. Sabbam pi chabbīsatibhāṇavārasataṃ hoti. Tepiṭake Buddhavacane aññaṃ suttaṃ chabbīsatibhāṇavārasataparimāṇaṃ nāma natthi. Suttantarājā nāma ayaṃ suttanto ti veditabbo. Ito param anusandhidvayam pi niyyādento *iti kho bhikkhave* ti ādim āha. Taṃ sabbam uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya MAHĀPADĀNA-SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

XV. MAHĀNIDĀNA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

Evam me sutaṃ—pe—Kurūsū ti Mahānidānasuttaṃ. Tatrāyam anuttānapadavaṇṇanā. *Kurūsu viharatī* ti Kurū nāma jānapadino rājakumārā, tesaṃ nivāso eko pi janapado ruḷhisaddena Kurūsū ti vuccati, tasmiṃ Kurūsu janapade. Aṭṭhakathācāriyā panāhu Mandhātukāle tīsu dīpesu manussā Jambudīpo nāma Buddhapaccekabuddha-mahāsāvakacakkavattippabhūtīnam uttamapurisānam uppattibhūmi uttamadīpo atiramaṇīyo ti sutvā raññā Mandhātucakkavattinā cakkaratanaṃ purakkhatvā[1] cattāro dīpe anuparisaṃyāyantena[2] saddhim āgamiṃsu. Tato rājā pariṇāyakaratanaṃ pucchi "atthi nu kho manussalokato ramaṇīyataraṃ ṭhānan" ti. "Kasmā deva evaṃ bhaṇasi? Kiṃ na passasi candimasuriyānam ānubhavam, nanu etesaṃ ṭhānam ito ramaṇīyataran" ti. Rājā cakkaratanaṃ purakkhatvā tattha agamāsi.

Cattāro Mahārājāno Mandhātumahārājā āgato ti sutvā va mahiddhiko[3] rājā, na sakkā yuddhena paṭibāhitun ti sakaṃ rajjaṃ niyyādesuṃ. So taṃ gahetvā puna pucchi "atthi nu kho ito ramaṇīyataraṃ ṭhānan" ti. Ath' assa Tāvatiṃsabhavanaṃ kathayiṃsu. Tāvatiṃsabhavanaṃ deva ito ramaṇīyataraṃ, tattha Sakkassa devarañño ime cattāro Mahārājāno paricārakā dovārikabhūmiyaṃ tiṭṭhanti. Sakko devarājā mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo tass' imāni upabhogaṭṭhānāni yojanasahass' ubbedho Vejayanto pāsādo pañcayojanasatubbedhā Sudhammā devasabhā diyaḍḍhayojanasatiko Vejayantaratho tathā Erāvaṇo hatthī dibbarukkhasahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ Nandavanaṃ Cittalatāvanaṃ Pāru[4]sakavanaṃ Missakavanaṃ yojanasatubbedho Pāricchattako Koviḷāro tassa heṭṭhā saṭṭhiyojanāyāmā[5] paññāsayojanavitthatā[6] pañcadasayojanubbedhā jayakusumapupphavaṇṇā paṇḍukambalasilā yassā mudutāya Sakkassa nisīdato upaḍḍhakāyo anupavisatī ti. Taṃ sutvā rājā tattha gantukāmo cakkaratanam abbhukiri. Tam ākāse uṭṭhāsi[7] saddhiṃ caturaṅginiyā senāya. Atha dvinnaṃ devalokānaṃ vemajjhato cakkaratanam otaritvā paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhāsi saddhiṃ pariṇāyakaratanappamukhāya caturaṅginiyā senāya. Rājā ekako va Tāvatiṃsabhavanam agamāsi.

Sakko "Mandhātā āgato" ti sutvā va tassa paccuggamanaṃ katvā "svāgatan te mahārāja, sakan te mahārāja, anusāsa mahārājā" ti vatvā saddhiṃ nāṭakehi rajjaṃ dve bhāge katvā ekaṃ bhāgam adāsi. Rañño Tāvatiṃsabhavane patiṭṭhitamattass' eva manussabhāvo vigacchi. Devabhāvo pāturahosi. Tassa kira Sakkena saddhiṃ paṇḍukambalasilāyaṃ nisinnassa akkhinimmissamattena[1] nānattaṃ paññāyati ti tam asallakkhentā devā Sakkassa ca tassa ca nānatte muyhanti. So tattha dibbasampattim anubhavamāno yāva chattiṃsa Sakkā uppajjitvā cutā tāva Sakkarajjaṃ kāretvā atitto va kāmehi tato cavitvā attano uyyāne patito vātātapena phuṭṭhagatto[2] kālam akāsi.

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[1] B. & Si. purakkhitvā
[2] Si. anusaṃsarentena
[3] B. & Si. add mahānubhavo.
[4] B. & Si. Phāru-
[5] Si. āyatā
[6] Si. vitthatā
[7] Si. uṭṭhahi; B. paviṭṭhāsi

Cakkaratane[3] puna paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhite pariṇāyakaratanaṃ suvaṇṇapaṭe[4] Mandhātu upāhanaṃ likhāpetvā idaṃ Mandhātu rajjan ti rajjam anusāsi. Te pi tīhi dīpehi āgatamanussā pana[5] gantuṃ asakkontā pariṇāyakaratanam upasaṅkamitvā "deva mayaṃ rañño ānubhāvena āgatā idāni gantuṃ na sakkoma vasanaṭṭhānaṃ no dehī" ti yāciṃsu. So tesam ekam ekaṃ[6] janapadam adāsi. Tattha Pubbavidehato āgatamanussehi āvasitappadeso tāyeva purimasaññāya Videharaṭṭhan ti nāmaṃ labhi.[7] Aparagoyānato āgatamanussehi āvasitappadeso Aparantajanapado ti nāmaṃ labhi,[7] Uttarakuruto āgatamanussehi āvasitappadeso Kururaṭṭhan ti nāmaṃ labhi.[7] Bahuke pana gāmanigamādayo upādāya bahu vacanena vohariyati. Tena vuttaṃ Kurūsu viharatī ti.

Kammassadhammā ti[8] ettha keci dhakārassa da-kāreṇa atthaṃ vaṇṇayanti. Kammāso ettha damito ti Kammāsadammo. *Kammāso* ti Kammāsapādo porisādo vuccati. Tassa kira pāde khānukena viddhaṭṭhāne vaṇo ruhanto Cittadārusadiso hutvā ruhi. Tasmā Kammāsapādo ti paññāyittha. So ca tasmim okāse damito porisādabhāvato paṭisedhito. Kena? Mahāsattena. Katarasmiṃ jātake ti. Mahāsutasomajātake ti eke. Keci[9] pana therā Jayaddisajātakehi vadanti. Tadā hi Mahāsattena Kammāsapādo damito. Yath' āha.

Putto yadā homi Jayaddisassa
Pañcālaraṭṭhādhipatissa atrajo
cajitvā pāṇaṃ pitaram amocayiṃ
Kammāsapādam pi cahaṃ pasādayin ti.

Keci pana dha-kāreṇa atthaṃ vaṇṇayanti. Kururaṭṭhavāsīnaṃ kira Kurudhammo, tasmiṃ Kammāso jāto, tasmā tam ṭhānaṃ Kammāso

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[1] Si. akkhinimesanamattena ; B. -nimmita-
[2] Si. phusita
[3] B. adds pana.
[4] B. & Si paṭṭe
[5] B. & Si. puna
[6] S. & Si. drop ekaṃ.
[7] B. labhati
[8] B. & Si. add Kammāsa-dhammaṃ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo ti.
[9] B. & S. ime

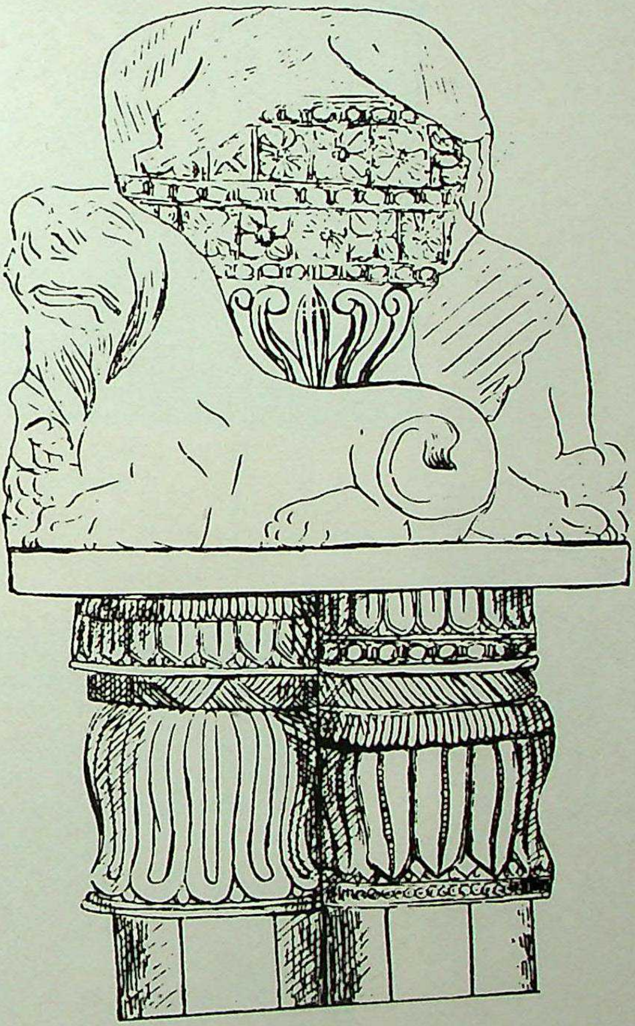

FIG. 1

Clustered Capitals

From -TORANA PILLAR, BHARHUT

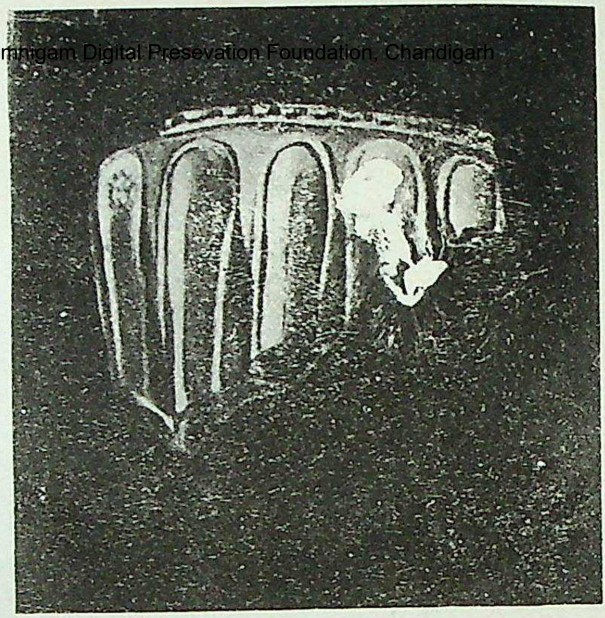

FIG. 6

Fragment from the side of a Terracotta vase (ht. 7")

From --TAXILA.

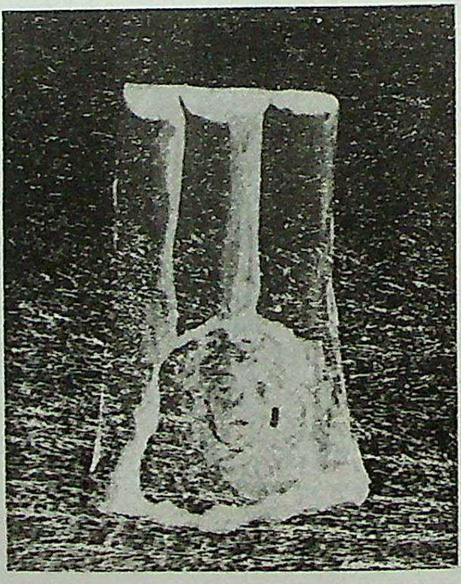

FIG 7

Fragment of the handle of a Terracotta vase (ht. 5¾")

showing Alexander's head in lion's skin

From --TAXILA.

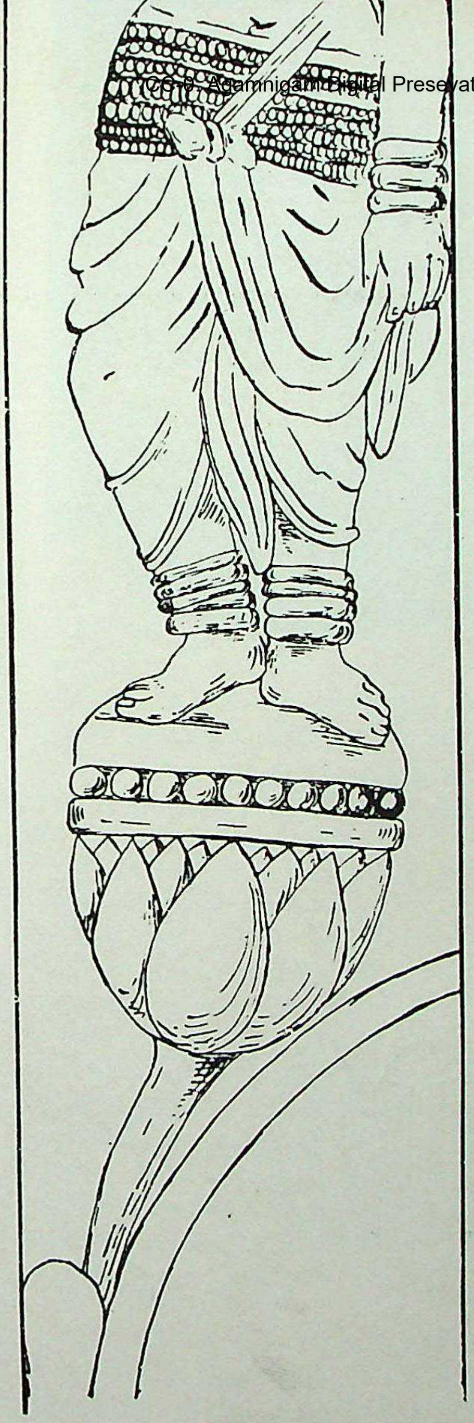

FIG. 2

Lotus-support, Bharhut, Pillar No. 41 (8) a

Indian Museum

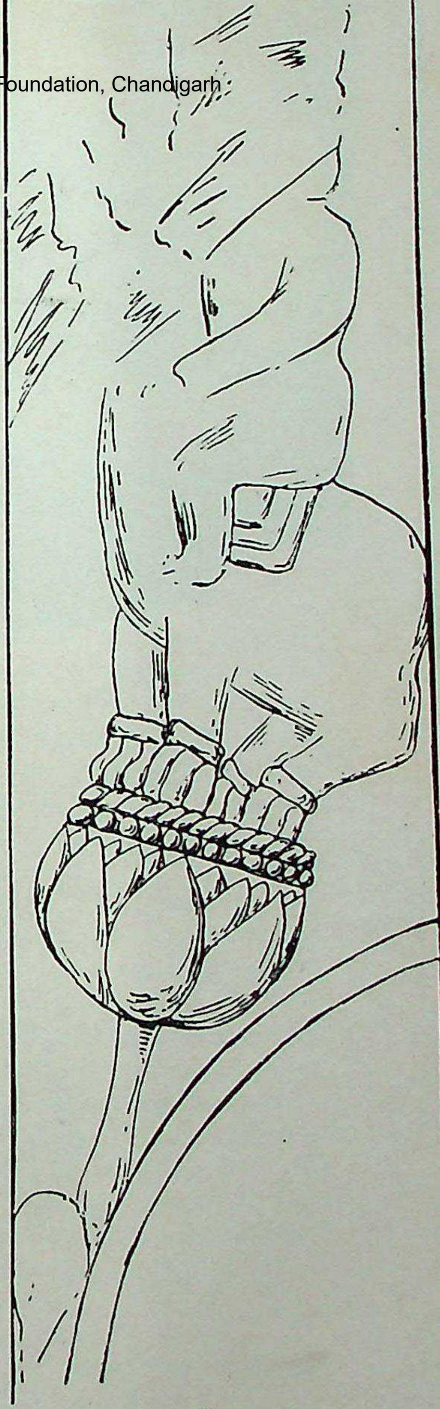

FIG. 3

Lotus-support, Bharhut, Pillar No. 5 (17)

Indian Museum

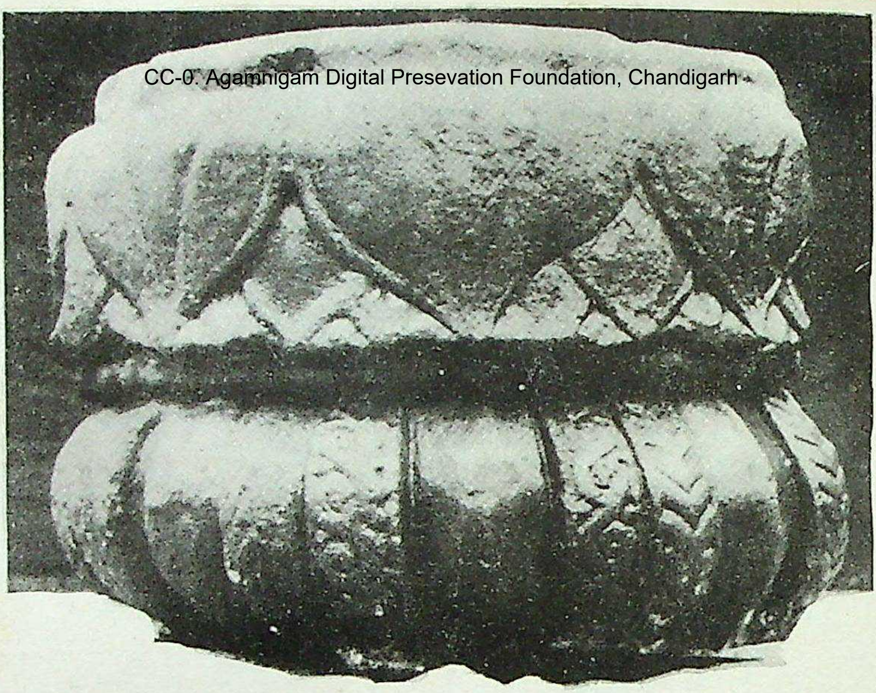

FIG. 4

A composite Mauryan Capital (height 1'2"). From Pataliputra.

(By kind permission of Swami Avyaktananda, of the Ramkrishna Ashram, Bankipore).

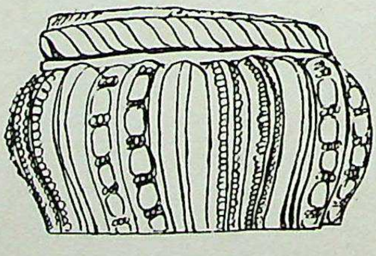

FIG. 5

Mauryan Capital, Sarnath.

(FRAGMENT)

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Origin of the Bell-Capital

In his note on the origin of the Lotus Capital (I.H.Q., VI, pp. 373-375 & pl.) Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy states the case for the Indian origin and symbolism of the lower member of the Mauryan Capital and its derivation from the Lotus symbol, which he traces in the Vedic literature.[1] Similar views have been held for the last half a century. They derive their plausibility from the resemblance of the bell capital to the calyx of a flower reversed, to which also its supposed Persian prototype has much similarity. Of 'the drooping foliations of the Capitals,' Dr. Rajendralala Mitra wrote as early as 1875 that, "to an Indian they appear very like the pendant filaments of the lotus after the petals have been removed from the receptacle, or the reverted petals of a lotus bud,—forms which are peculiarly ornamental and beautiful, and which have been employed in India as ornaments in a variety of ways and in different places."[2] That was why he did not admit the supposed similitudes between the Aśoka and the Assyrian (?) pillars to be conclusive. It is noteworthy that his conjecture involves only the decorative theme of the capital and not its solid shape, which have been confused in recent mystic interpretations of the motif. The distinction seems to have been maintained by Mr. Purna Chandra Mookerjee[1] who described the 'bell-shaped' Rumindei capital as exhibiting 'the usual festoons in the face of the big cyma,' the last-named moulding being translated by him as "*Padma*."

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[1] A. K. Coomaraswamy,—*A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 8, 13-14, and 17; *Eastern Art*, vol. I, no. 3, p. 179.

[2] R. L. Mitra,—*Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 17.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's interpretation of the capital as the mystic lotus support is founded firstly, upon the occurrence of certain lotus supports in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails, secondly, on the morphological affinities between the Mauryan capitals and the said lotus supports, and thirdly, on the significance attached to the lotus symbol in the Vedic literature. We proceed to discuss these in the following paragraphs.

I

The Lotus Symbol in the Bharhut Reliefs

That the Indians attached some sort of mystic significance to the lotus is implied by certain legends according to which the flower is said to have sprung up at the feet of Siddhārtha when he walked seven steps after his birth.[2] The flower is also represented on the soles of a Buddha image at Sārnāth,[3] dating from the Kuṣāṇa period. The design of a lotus springing up from another in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails, recalls the representation of the Śrāvastī miracle in Gupta art. From the absence of differentiating emblems on figures of Indra, Agni and Brahmā in the coins and monuments of the Śuṅga period, it would appear that the iconography of Śrī usually appearing on a lotus was probably of non-Brāhmaṇical origin.[4] The representation of '*Sirimā Devatā*' on the Bharhut rails without the flower indicates that this mark of Śrī was not rigidly adhered to. That she was not the only deity associated with the flower is proved by the figure of the girl with a lyre, standing upon it, on one of the pillars (unpublished). The man and the woman riders, appearing on lotus-supports on either side of a medallion, and again at other places carrying the *Garuḍadhvajas* without that appendage, taken together, denote that the lotus seat or pedestal was not an invariable attribute of divine figures in Śuṅga art. Following is the list of figures on the lotus-supports in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails :—

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[1] P. C. Mookerjee,—*A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, Feb. and March, 1899*, pp. 32-34.

[2] Sahni,—*Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914, pl. xx. Lefmann,—*Lalitavistara*, Adhyāya 7, p. 83 : 19-21 ; p. 84 : 18-19 ; p. 93 : 12-13.

[3] Sahni,—*op. cit.*, p. 38, B (a) 6.

[4] Ramaprasad Chanda,—*Mūrti-O-Mandir*, pp. 4-5. Coomaraswamy,—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31 ; *Eastern Art*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 175-89 and plates.

1. Anthropomorphic figures :—The man and the woman on horseback : the man with hands in an attitude of adoration and the woman grasping a branch of the mango tree, disposed in pairs to the right and left of the same medallion (*Mithuna*) ; women raising a hand to grasp a flower or a necklace hanging from a flower placed above ; or holding a ball-like object or a flywhisk in the uplifted hand ; the other hand descending to the girdle or pointing to the breasts, or holding lotuses.

2. Beasts :—Winged horses and elephants.

3. Birds :—Swans craning their neck : peacocks with expanded plumes : the parrot pecking at the mango.

4. Flowers :—Two lotuses, one springing from the other.

If the lotus supports of Bharhut had been meant to represent pillars like the Mauryan and Śuṅga *'Śilāstambhas,'* we should expect to find all the foregoing figures on contemporary columns. This is, however, not the case. The custom of setting up anthropomorphic figures on the top of columns did not, in fact, begin till a much later date. A tripartite lion in the Bharhut reliefs, supporting an anthropomorphic figure of which only the feet survive,[1] is to be explained as a carrier (*vāhana*). And if not of totemistic origin, the birds and animals on the lotus supports must have been designed with decorative intent on the lines of the *Śrīs* and the *Mithunas* in which the lotus may have an iconographic significance. The elephant on the lotus is probably derived from the *'Abhiṣeka'* type of *Śrī*, wherein its decorative significance is obvious. The swan found on the vase and lotus (*Bhadraghaṭa*) medallions of Bharhut and also in the *'Abhiṣeka'* type of *Śrī*, as represented in the Orissa caves, have no more import than its association with the lotus pool.[2] The lotus in the hands of some of the figures need not necessarily have been an iconographical attribute.[1] The significance of the flower being thus proved to be indeterminate and the decorative character of some of the figures on the lotus supports being obvious, the latter cannot be held to represent the supposed symbolic Mauryan bell-capitals carrying animal figures.

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[1] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth abbreviated as *A.S.I.R.*) for 1925-26, p. 151, pl. lvii, fig. (a).

[2] Cf. हंसश्रेणीरचितरशना नित्यपद्मा नलिन्यः। *Meghadūta*, II, 3.

II

The Morphology of the Lotus Supports and the Bell Capitals

The morphological similitudes between the lotus supports of Bharhut and the campaniform capitals of the Mauryan pillars suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy can be hardly reconciled to facts. The fillet moulding in the lowermost part of the Gutiva,[2] Rumindei[3] and Allahabad[4] capitals, as well as the cable and the bead and reel mouldings below the Basarh,[5] Sankissa[6] and Nandangarh[7] capitals cannot be derived from the lotus supports. In shape as well as in the form of the petals, the bulb-shaped lotuses of the chamfer reliefs of Bharhut do not resemble the campaniform capitals with their characteristic ornamentation. In the lion capitals of Sārnāth[1] and Rāmpurva,[2] the transition between the bell and the abacus is partly effected by the undecorated torus, which has its precedent in the Achaemenian pillar-base and cannot be derived from the stamens of the lotus. In the Sāñchi, Saṅkissa and Rāmpurva (bull)[3] capitals its place is taken by a corded torus or cable moulding, the history of the ornament going back to much earlier times and having nothing to do with the said stamens. Its occurrence below the Basarh, Saṅkissa and Nandangarh capitals cannot be otherwise explained. That the corded torus does not represent the stamens of the lotus is demonstrated by the simultaneous appearance of the two forms on the lotus capitals of the '*toraṇa*' of Bharhut (Fig. 1), the former intervening between the bell and the lotus-shaped abacus, and the latter falling on the shoulder of the bell, respectively. The fillet appearing above the torus in the Sāñchi, Sarnāth and Rāmpurva (lion) capitals has no counterpart in the lotus growing in nature or as represented in the chamfer reliefs of Bharhut. No resemblance can be imagined between the thalamus of the lotus and the square abaci of the Basarh lion capital, the Mathura elephant capital of the reign of Huviṣka,[4] the '*Makara*'[5] and '*Kalpavṛkṣa*'[6] capitals of Besnagar and the lotus capitals of the *Garuḍa* poles[7] in the Bharhut reliefs, as well as the abaci of the *Garuḍa*[8] and the fan-palm capitals of Besnagar,[9] which are square above, and round and octagonal, respectively, below.

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[1] Smith,—*The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, pp. 12-13, plate VI. Herringham,—*Ajanta Frescoes*, plate II, fig. 3; plate XI, fig. 13; plate XIV, fig. 16; plate XVII.

Cf. हस्ते लीलाकमलमलके वालकुन्दानुविद्धं
नीता लोध्रप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः ।
चूड़ापाशे नवकुरवकं चारुकर्णे शिरीषं
सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् ॥

Meghadūta, II, 2.

O. M, Dalton,—*The Treasure of the Oxus*, 2nd edition, gold plaques, nos. 49, 74, 89, 92, 93. Plates XIV, XV, no. 103, pp. 26-27, plate XVI.

[2] Mookerjee,—*op. cit.*, plate XVI, fig. 2.

[3] *Id.*, Plate XVI, fig. 3.

[4] Fergusson,—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876), fig. 3, p. 53.

[5] Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer,—*Early Indian Sculpture* (Paris, 1929), vol. I, pl. III.

[6] *Id.*, pl. VIII.

[7] *Id.*, pl. IV.

The other type of lotus supports occurring in two instances in the Bharhut reliefs, not described by Dr. Coomaraswamy, comprise a cup-shaped flower with petals rising upwards and supporting an abacus decorated with beads, or with beads and the cable moulding (Figs. 2 & 3). The juxtaposition of these ornaments with the lotus owes its inspiration to the artists' familiarity with the lotus capital which appears twice on the *Garuḍa-dhvajas* and twice[1] on isolated columns supporting the elephant as well as on structural pillars in the pseudo architecture of the Bharhut reliefs. The dissimilarity between the bell capital and the second type of lotus support is too obvious to need further comment.

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[1] Bachhofer,—*Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, pl. V.

[2] Chanda,—'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India,' (*Memoirs of the A.S.I.* no. 30, pl. II(b).

[3] *Id.*, pl. III(a).

[4] Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. III, p. 20, pl. V.

[5] *Id.*, vol. X, pp. 42-43, pl. XIV.; *A. S. I. R.*, 1913-14, pp. 189-90, pl. LIV, figs. (a) and (b).

[6] Cunningham, *A.S.R*, vol. X, pp. 43-44, pl. xv.

[7] Cunningham,—*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. xxxii, figs. 5 and 6; *A.S.I.R.*, 1925-26, pl. lviii.

[8] *A. S. I. R.*, 1913-14, p. 188, pl. lii (a) and liii.

[9] *A. S. R.*, vol. X, pl. XIV, p. 42.

III

The Vedic Lotus Symbol

Before postulating a connection between the Vedic lotus symbol and the bell-capitals, of which our earliest specimens come from the Mauryan *'śilāstambhas'*, it is necessary to ascertain whether the said symbol can have any bearing on the significance of the pillars. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra was of opinion that the Mauryan pillars "were used as mere monuments erected singly in distant places to bear only inscriptions".[2] The presence of stūpas and temples in the vicinity of some of the columns led Fergusson to surmise their association with religious edifices.[3] This was rightly contested by Dr. Mitra who pointed out that "the Tirhut pillars, which are still *in situ*, have no mound or ruin of any kind in their close proximity to bear out this supposition." Fergusson, nevertheless, appears to to have guessed the religious significance of the pillars. In the *Aśokāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*, the memorial monuments erected by Aśoka on the sacred sites of Buddhist history are described as *'cihna's* or emblems.[4] The Rumindei pillar inscription, in enumerating the erection of a pillar on the birthplace of Buddha as one of the royal acts of Asoka,[5] indicates that the columns are included among the *'cihna's*. But the Sāñchi column, standing at a place not connected with [the personal history of Buddha, proves that all of these columns are not commemorative in character. Its capital has the same design as that of the Sārnāth column. The symbolic character of the lions which crown the latter has been long recognised.[1]

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[1] Cunningham,—*Mahābodhi*, pl. III.

[2] Mitra,—*op. cit*, p. 15 and footnote.

[3] Fergusson,—*op. cit.*, p. 55.

[4] Cowell & Neil,—*Divyāvadāna*, p 389 and footnote.

[5] Hultzsch,—*Inscriptions of Aśoka* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*), vol. I, pp. 164-65.

In my paper on Mauryan Art, I attempted a chronology of the Mauryan bell capitals on morphological grounds,[2] and this has been since corroborated by Prof. Chanda on the strength of certain passages in the edicts of Aśoka mentioning columns standing at the time of their promulgation.[3] This implies that not all of these columns did appertain to Buddhism. That one at least belonged to another cult is shown by the pillar of Lauriya-Ārārāj, which had been crowned with a *Garuḍa* capital. Prof. Chanda is thus justified in concluding that these columns are animal standards intended for worship, the crowning animals being emblems of different gods. As the carrier system does not appear in a standardised form in the Bharhut reliefs dating a century after Aśoka, the interpretation of the animals' figures as symbols of divine beings with whom they came to be associated later in Brāhmaṇical mythology as suggested by him, is however open to question.[4] Nevertheless, the association of Garuḍa with Viṣṇu in the second century B.C. is established by the inscription mentioning Vāsudeva on the Heliodoros column.[5] The capitals of the Sāñchi and Sārnāth columns (B C. 242-31) were evidently caused to be designed by Aśoka when he had already become a Buddhist, as fitting emblems for the founder of his religion, on the analogy of animal-crowned pillars already existing at that date.

In its portable form, the animal standard is represented by two *Garuḍa dhvajas* carried by two riding figures on the Bharhut reliefs,

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[1] Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[2] *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 548-53.

[3] Chanda,—*The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India* (Memoirs of the *A.S.I.*, No. 30), pp. 31-33.

[4] In the Mbh., I, 3, Airāvata, the Nāga king, appears as a Bull of extraordinary size, whose excreta is Amṛta. It is ridden by a man of uncommon stature. Also Agni appears as a Horse with Indra as rider.

[5] In Jaina iconography *Garuḍa* is a Yakṣa having the Boar as its mount. It is also the mount of the *Yakṣa* Tumburu and of the Yakṣiṇī Cakreśvarī.—Puran Chand Nahar, *Jaina Mūrtitattver Saṃkṣipta Vivaraṇ*, a paper read at the Radhanagar Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Sammilan (Sam. 1331), pp. 6, 5, 8.

The Garuḍa pole appears on the obverse of a rectangular copper coin of the second century B.C. (Nahar Collection, Calcutta) with the legend '*Māso*' on the right top corner of the field and '*Senapatisa Nitahāso*' on the reverse ; as well as on certain types of Gupta coins.[1] A standard surmounted by a crouching bull facing left, appears on the coins of Narendrāditya.[2] Similar standards are known to have featured in the religion of the Indus Valley civilisation. A three-sided prism of faience discovered at Mohenjodaro[3] shows a procession of four men carrying as many standards of different types. One of these is crowned by a featherlike emblem, while another is surmounted by the figure of a bull facing right and standing on a horizontal member supported on a rod. It is significant that the bull, the elephant and the tree represented on the Indus Valley seals appear also on the Mauryan and Śuṅga pillars. So it is probable that some connection might have existed between the cults of the animal-standard in the Indus Valley culture aud the Mauryan and Śuṅga pillar cults as suggested by Prof. Chanda.[4] The Vedic lotus symbol cannot possibly have any bearing on these cult objects.[5] It is, therefore, unwarranted to assume that the campaniform capital of these animal pillars represents the Lotus of the Vedic ritual.

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[1] J. Allan.—*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum.* London, 1914.

Samudra Gupta— { Standard type...pp. 1-5, pls. i, ii (1-5).
Archer ,, ...pp. 6-7, pl. iv (1-7).
Candra Gupta II. — Archer ,, ...pp. 24-33, pl. vi (1-7, 10-18), pl. vii.
Kumar Gupta I.— { Archer ,, ...pp. 61-67, pl. xii (1-12).
Pratāpa ,, ... p. 87, pl. xv (15) (15-18).
Skanda Gupta— { Archer ,, .. pp. 114-19, pls. xix, xx (1 2).
King & Lakṣmī

Pura Gupta (pp 134-35, pl. xxi. 23-26).

Prakāśāditya (pp. 135-36, pl. xxii, 1-4). Narasiṃha Bālāditya (pp. 137-39, pl. xxii, 7-12). Kramāditya (p. 140-43, pl. xxii, 13-15, xxiii 1-5). Ghaṭotkaca (149. xxiv. 3).

[2] *Id.*, p. 149, pl. xxiv, no. 4.

[3] *A.S.I.R.*, for 1925-26, p. 87, pl. xlv, fig. 22.

[4] Chanda,—Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley (*Memoirs of the A.S.I.*, no. 41), pp. 34-35.

[5] The use of the *yūpa* emblem on one of the chariot standards mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see Appendix) apparently controverts this view. It should be borne in mind, however, that the above standards, emblems of power and victory, are mostly connected with

IV

The Composite Mauryan Capital

The composite Mauryan capital from Pāṭaliputra, a recent discovery made by Mr. Ramlal Sinha of Bankipore, which I am permitted to announce, affords light on the origin and significance of the Bell capital (Fig. 4). It is now only 1′2″ high, polished and made of buff coloured Chunar sandstone. Its lower portion has disappeared and the carvings survive only in part. It is said to have been originally discovered in course of some diggings at Lohanipur, but was found lying near a Bania's shop, not far off Govind Mitra Road, Moradpur. Its abacus, 5½″ high, has the form of a lotus with its petals turned downwards, the stamens being represented on its upper edge, at the foot of the moulding at the top (ht. 1″). This type of lotus-shaped abacus is found on the clustered capitals of the '*Toraṇa*' pillars of Bharhut (Fig. 1). Below the abacus is a bead and reel moulding which cannot be derived from the stamens of the lotus. The bell proper, now only 6½″ high, differs from the standard Mauryan type in having flat ribs decorated with the spiral and several leaf patterns, disposed between the arrises, so that each arris appears between a pair of ribs decorated with the same ornament. Another polished Mauryan bell with ribs decorated in much the same manner has been discovered by Mr. Hargreaves at Sārnāth (Fig. 5).[1]

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kings or men of the ruling caste and that the *yūpa* standard in the Epic is compared to the *yūpa* of the Rājasūya rite, a royal ceremony. Both the *yūpa* and the standard entail the use of a pole or post, and in that Rāmāyaṇa I, 14, 22-27, the worship of *yūpas* having gold decorations, with garments, flowers and scents is described (cf. Indradhvaja in the Appendix). Evidently because of their sharing such a common feature the two could combine happily. Similar conditions do not appear in the case of a Vedic lotus symbol. There is no hint of a parallel feature in the standards of the Mahābhārata so far as I am aware.

[1] *A.S.I.R.*, for 1914-15, p. 117, no. 105.

The morphological differences between the lotus shaped abacus and the lower member of the composite capital indicates that the architects of the Mauryan school recognised the difference between the lotus form and the form of the lower member, to which most modern archæologists give the name *'bell'* in consideration of its solid shape. *This composite capital with its upper member designed on the model of a lotus, controverts the theory of the lotus origin of its lower member and reduces the application of the term 'lotus' thereto to an absurdity.*

The difference between the lotus shaped abacus and the lower member is further accentuated by the emblishment of the so-called bell, the form and decorative theme of which have no resemblance to a lotus, and which by its divergence from the standard design clearly shows that to the Mauryan architects the capital was merely a decorative and architectural element.

V

The Significance of the Bell-Capital

An analysis of the various uses of the capital in early Indian architecture confirms the above conclusion regarding its significance. In the Mauryan *śilāstambhas* it happens to be carved on the same block of stone as the crowning animals, so that it is not a true capital and its purpose is only decorative. Its peculiar shape conveys the impression of carrying down the superincumbent weight instead of propping it up from below. Nor can its crowning animals conveniently accommodate the beams of the superstructure. The capital is, therefore, ill-suited to structural purposes. If it were employed at all in the hypostile hall at Kumrahr and the palaces of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra described by Fa Hien,[1] we do not know what devices had been adopted by the architect to remedy its defects. The architects of the subsequent times tried to appropriate it to structural purposes (i) by placing on its top a rectangular animal capital surmounted by a cubical block,[1] an impost[2] or a volute capital[3] on which to place the beams (Northern India) ; (ii) by adding short props, curved or perpendicular, rising from its shoulder to the corners of the rectangular capital above (Sāñchi)[4] ; and by supplementing it with a double capital having an upper row of volutes (Bharhut).[5] They also created an altogether new order by enclosing the corded torus above the bell in a rectangular frame, the vertical lines of which create the impression of effectively supporting the abacus comprising tiers of projecting slabs and the crowning figure sculptures (Western India).[6] None of these devices have any mystic significance, so that none is necessarily implied in the campaniform lower member which serves in a purely architectural capacity.

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[1] Legge,—*Travels of Fa Hien*, p. 77.

Various monuments may be cited to show that like the Mauryan architects who had designed the above mentioned capitals from Sārnāth and Pāṭaliputra, those of post-Mauryan times were fully alive to the decorative significance of the bell capital. The undecorated capitals of the baluster pillars of the '*Toraṇa*' of Bharhut,[7] of those in the reliefs of Sāñchi '*Toraṇas*'[8] and in the Nasik[9] and Kanheri[10] caves are instances in which the campaniform member has been treated as an abstract shape and divested of all ornament according to necessity. The type is noted also at Amarāvatī.[1] In the pilasters of the Pitalkhora Vihāra cave[2] and the Kankali Tila pillars,[3] the solid shape of the capital has been modified according to exigencies of design or limitations of the quarry. The fluted capitals of the Caitya cave at Karle[4] indicate that the decoration of the capital could be intelligently subdued in subordination to the entire design.

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[1] *A. S. I. Annual Report, Eastern Circle*, 1918-19, p. 45 and pl. ; Smith, V. A.—*op. cit*, pl. xlv, L. (fig. 1).

[2] *Id.*, pls. xliii, xliv and xlvi (fig. 1) ; Cunningham,—*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. x.

[3] Waddel,—*Report on the Excavations of Pāṭaliputra*, pp. 17-40, pl. ii. ; Sahni,—*op. cit.*, p. 246, (D^{g}_{4}), pl. v ; *A. S. I. R.* for 1914-15, p. 117, no. 104, pl. lxvii (nos. 12, 14 and 21-29) ; Cunningham—*Mahābodhi*, pl. iv, p. 9. ; Mitra,—*Buddha Gaya*. pl. L.

[4] K. de B. Cordrington,—*Ancient India*, p. 32, fig. 10 C, p. 34 ; Bacchofer,—*Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, pl. 59 (right).

[5] Cunningham,—*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pls. xxx, fig. 3 & xxxi.

[6] Bacchofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pls. 66, 69, 70.

[7] Cunningham,—*A. S. R.*, vol. v, pl. xlvi.

[8] Bacchofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. 1, pls. 49, 50, etc.

[9] Fergusson & Burgess,—*Cave Temples of India*, pls. xxii, xxiii (figs. 3 and 4).

[10] *Id.*, p. 350, fig. 62.

The Lotus capitals of the '*Toraṇa*' pillars of Bharhut (Fig. 1) illustrate the invention of new themes of decoration, though the scheme is still vertical. Some of the lotus capitals of the Bharhut reliefs, on the other hand, are set off with lotus petals and festoons in two parallel rows, which shows that the scheme of decoration was already changing from the vertical to the horizontal during the second century B. C. In the Kṣatrapa Kuṣāṇa pillars of Mathura,[5] in those of the Amarāvatī reliefs[6] and in the pilasters of the Ananta Gumpha[7] and the Pitalkhora Vihāra cave, the new scheme of decoration appears perfected by the division of the surface into parallel horizontally disposed zones, and by the introduction of diverse new motifs of ornament, including the acanthus leaf.

VI

The Problem of Origin

Except for the Indus Valley standards described above, our knowledge of the morphological character of the pre-Mauryan animal standard is derived from references in the Mahābhārata, etc. so that it cannot be taken for granted that the Mauryan and Śuṅga animal standards, monumental or otherwise, do accurately preserve the pre-Mauryan forms. No bell or lotus capital appears on the Indus Valley standard. None are mentioned in connection with the chariot standards of the Mahābhārata. Nor can any be recognized on the Garuḍa and Bull standards of the Gupta coins, and this is all the more remarkable, as the capital was fairly popular with the Gupta architects, appearing, as it did, also on the Dhvaja stambhas of the period. On the other hand the square abacus of the Basarh capital[1] has its parallel in the horizontal member of the Indus Valley standard. This type of abacus is ill-suited to its place on the top of the campaniform capital of the Mauryan columns which finally appear with the circular form. So that it is doubtful whether the said capital had any place in the original pre-Mauryan standard. The above consideration lead to the conclusion that the campaniform capital was an intrusive element and its adoption was but an incident in the long history of the animal standards.

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[1] *A. S. I. R.* for 1908-09, pl, xxix, figs. (c) and (e).

[2] Fergusson & Burgess,—*op. cit.*, pp. 244-45, pl. xvi.

[3] Smith,—*op. cit.*, pls. xliii, xliv, xlv.

[4] Fergusson & Burgess,—*op. cit.*, p. 234, pl. xii, fig. 1.

[5] Smith,—*op. cit.*, pls. xliv, xlvi (1), li (fig. 2).

[6] *A. S. I. R.* for 1905-06, pl. xlvii, figs. 1-3 ; for 1908-09, pl. xxix, fig. (d). Fergusson,—*Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxxix, no 3, pl. lxxxviii, fig. 2. Codrington,—*op. cit.*, p. 37, fig. 12/C ; pl. 25, fig. (b).

[7] Mitra,—*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pl. xxiv.

Poles and standards of wood, bamboo and metals are known to have featured in the battles and the religious observances of the Indian peoples from ancient times.[2] In translating such cult objects into lithic and monumental forms, the architect must have felt the necessity of adding appropriate decorative features, and there was nothing to hinder him from borrowing the themes from foreign sources. But such borrowings must be substantiated.

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[1] The type persists in the square abaci mentioned above.

[2] For battle standards, etc., see Appendix. Their forms could have been hardly monumental.

The Marhia pole of the Khonds, with its crowning elephant, which featured in human sacrifices, and the Marhai poles of the Ahirs (C.P. & Berar), one with peacock's feathers (probably representing a peacock) and another with a white cock tied to the top as well as a pole crowned by a clay image of a parrot, which are worshipped with ceremonial dances, are some modern examples.

See J. G. Frazer,—*The Golden Bough*, part V, vol. I, pp. 246-48 (Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild). R. V. Russell,—*The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. II, pp. 32-33.

The Diffusionist Theory

For the diffusionist theory it is claimed that the chain of evidence for the Persian origin of the Mauryan campaniform capital is complete. In its latest form,[1] the theory rests upon the resemblances between the shape and decoration of the Mauryan capital and the Achæmenian pillar base[2] as it occurs at Susa and Persepolis, supported by a mass of historical facts.

The Assyrian Origin

None of the above are accounted for in Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis[3] that the features of the Mauryan column 'such as the bell shaped capital, smooth unfluted shafts and lustrous polish are all adopted from the Assyrians, but directly, and not through the Persians.' In fact except for Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's statement that "the drooping foliations of the capitals . . . . certainly belong in common both to the Aśoka and the Assyrian pillars,"[4] a statement not supported by citation of specimens, there is nothing to support Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis on the Assyrian origin of the Bell Capital. The whole trend of Dr. Mitra's argument is to refute an imaginary thesis of Assyrian influence on early Indian architecture. But beyond making anthropological speculations as to the Vedic *Asuras* being the Assyrians Dr. Bhandarkar neither adduces evidence nor cites parallel features from Assyrian architecture, such as might have led him to this conclusion.

The Persian Origin

The affinities of form and technique noticeable between Mauryan and Achæmenian architecture have to be considered, first, in the background of the cultural relations existing between India and her western neighbours during the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. Perrot and Chipiez were of opinion that the said affinities were due to the migration of Persian forms into India during the Achæmenian occupation of the Indus Valley.[1] A scaraboid of steatite, 'exhibiting a winged stag, in the cutting of which the drill has been freely used,' and which recalls similar works of Achæmenian art, has been found in the pre-Hellenistic strata of the Bhir mound at Taxila.[2] More evidence of the same character may be expected from further excavations of the Bhir mound and the ruins of other cities of the Punjab and the Indus Valley raided by Alexander. 'The Indian punch-marked silver coinage struck on the Persian standard perhaps represented the Achæmenian coinage for India'.[3] *But the penetration of Achæmenian art beyond the Punjab at this period has yet to be proved.* So that references to pre-existing stone columns in the edicts of Aśoka cannot be interpreted as denoting their existence *'much earlier than* the reign of Aśoka or *the Mauryan period'*,[4] though some of them may be assigned to the two preceding reigns.

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[1] A. K. Mitra,—'Mauryan Art', (*I. H. Q.*, vol. III), No. 3, pp. 544-45, 48-49 ; Chanda, 'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India'. (*Memoirs of the A. S. I.*, no. 30,) pp. 29-30.

[2] Von Friedrich Sarre,—*Die Kunst Des Alten Persien*, plate 36. Von Heinrich Gluck, Ernst Diez,—*Die Kunst des Islam*, plate 118.

[3] Bhandarkar,—*Aśoka*, pp. 212-15.

[4] Mitra,—*op. cit.*, vol, I, pp, 17-18.

India and the Hellenistic Orient

On the other hand, under the Mauryan empire, there existed considerable facilities for a more intimate cultural intercourse between India and the West. Parapanisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia came to be included in the Mauryan empire as the result of Candragupta's treaty *'jus connubii'* with Seleucus. During the third century B.C. the caravan route from India[5] reached Seleukeia on the Tigris via Candahar, Persepolis and Susa, while another, 'an old main road' ran via Candahar, Herat, Hecatompylos, Ecbatana, Seleukeia, and was joined by the Taxila-Cabul-Bactria road'. Taxila was then the seat of Mauryan province and communicated with Pāṭaliputra by a great highway. The Aramaic inscription of Taxila[1] which refers twice to '*mārāna Priyadars*' is accounted for by the above relations with the old Achæmenian provinces. The Indian sea-borne trade was carried to Seleukeia along the Persian gulf and up the Tigris and also to Egypt through Arabian intermediaries. The opening up of these trade routes appears to have resulted in arousing and increasing interest in India and in the Hellenistic world about each other. Candragupta is said to have been accustomed to offer sacrifices upon Alexander's altars on the Hyphasis in Hellenic fashion.[2] A few drugs were also sent by him to Seleucus.[3] The Rock Edict XIII of his grandson Aśoka betrays his knowledge of the Greeks.[4] From the Rock Edict II we learn that Aśoka, who evidently felt drawn to the Hellenistic world, arranged for the medical treatment of men and cattle in the dominions of Antiochus Theos and his neighbours.[5] His description of himself as '*Priyadarśi*' the beloved of the gods, recalls the deification of kings prevailing amongst the successors of Alexander the Great in the Orient. The world that he claims to have conquered by 'Dharma' was mainly the Hellenistic world[6] and he seems to have been inspired by Alexander's vision of Eurasiatic empire[7] based on a union of hearts (homonoia) and a joint Commonwealth of Macedonians and Persians, no less than by Achæmenian imperialism. His appointment of Tuṣaspha, a Yavana (Persian ?) to the governorship of an imperial province,[1] has numerous parallels in the history of Alexander,[2] whose policy in this respect was imitated by Antigonus I and the Seleucids,[3] though but sparingly. Like the Macedonian Conqueror who stood in the magnificently appointed tent of Darius and wondered, "this, as it would seem, is to be a king !",[4] both Candragupta and Aśoka appear to have been impressed by the dignity and splendour of Achæmenian imperialism as indicated by the Persian ceremonies prevailing in the Court of the former[5] and by the forms of the edicts of the latter resembling those of Darius.

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[1] Georges Perrot & Charles Chipiez,—*History of Art in Persia*, pp. 339-40.

[2] *A. S. I. R.*, part I, 1919-20, p. 23, plate XI, fig. 2.

[3] *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VI, 1927, p. 402 ; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 319-41.

[4] Codrington,—*op. cit.*, p. 18.

[5] W. W. Tarn,—*Hellenistic Civilisation*, chap. VII, pp. 193-214 ; Pierre Jouguet,—*Macedonian Imperialism*, pp. 93-107, 353, 358.

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[1] Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 9, 77-78, pl. XIII (a); Herzfeld, *E. I.*, vol. XIX, pt. VI, April, 1928, pp. 251-53 and plates.

[2] Perrin Bernadotte, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. VII, pp. 401-03. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 80-82 & fn.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 431.

[4] Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (*Corpus Ins. Ind.*, vol. I), pp. 44-47.

[5] *Id.*, pp. 2-4.

[6] *Id.*, pp. 66-70.

[7] Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 69ff.

Achæmenian art and Indian Antiquities of the Mauryan Period

The said affinities have to be considered, secondly, in relation to the history of Indian art and architecture of this period, which reflects the results of the above cultural intercourse in diverse ways. An authentic case of the importation of Achæmenian objects of art into India is recorded in 326 B.C. It is stated by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Arrian that Alexander's presents to the king of Taxila included many vessels of gold and silver and a vast quantity of Babylonian and Persian embroideries from the store-house of the old Persian kings.[6] The upper strata of the Bhir mound (4th or 3rd century B.C.) at Taxila has yielded 'a scaraboid of Chalcedony[7] graved mainly with the drill in the Achæmenian fashion', which is 'probably of Persian provenance' (depth 2′ below surface). A few minor antiquities found in the same strata reflect the influence of Achæmenian art. Among these are four bangles[8] of thin beaten gold shaped on a core of shellac with their ends terminating in lions' heads (depth 9″ below surface), which recall Achæmenian gold armlets from Susa and in the 'Treasure of the Oxus'.[1] Of special interest is a fragment of pottery from the side of a vase,[2] decorated with 'the conventional leaf design (Fig. 6).............reminiscent of the capitals of the well-known Aśoka pillars'(depth 1′3″ below surface sq.25 × 51). Another vase from the same mound 'shaped like a modern *martban*, is 'stamped round the shoulder with bead and reel mouldings and bands of floral patterning', among which is the ring of leaves enclosed between festoons (cf. the Quasi-Ionic Capital of Pāṭaliputra) of Persian design.[3]

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[1] *E. I.*, vol. VIII, pp. 36-49 ; vol. X, Appendix (Lüders), p. 99, No. 965. Tuṣaspa is credited with the construction of certain sluices in the dam of the Sudarśanā lake at Girnar.

[2] Pierre Jouguet, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

[3] Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.

[4] Perrin,—*Plutarch's Lives*, Vol. VII, pp. 281-83.

[5] Smith, Persian influence on Mauryan India—*I.A.*, 1905, pp. 201-3.

[6] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 359 ; Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 65-66.

[7] *A. S. I. R.*, part I, 1920-21, pp. 17-18, 20, pl. XVII, fig. 1.

[8] *Id.*, p. 20, pl. XVII, fig. 27.

From Sārnāth, about 800 miles S. E. from Taxila as the crow flies, comes a polished sandstone head wearing a crenellated crown[4] which recalls the one on the figure of Darius above the Behistun inscription.[5] The Tytler statues from Patna[6] have on their hands coiled armlets decorated spirally and terminating in dragons' heads which recall Achæmenian ornaments.[7] Their waist-cloth, which is worn without the usual Indian '*kaccha*' is reminiscent of the Persian garb[8] and also recalls Alexander's experiments with the Persian dress. All these point to the source from which the Mauryan architect was likely to borrow his themes.

Mauryan Architecture

The Mauryan architect would appear to have been indebted to Medo-Persian sources, too, for certain architectural features from as early as the reign of Candragupta. The latter's palace at Pāṭaliputra comprised halls, their gilded pillars being adorned with golden vines and silver birds. Fragmentary remains of golden vines have been discovered in the excavations of Kumrahr at Patna.[1] Polybius (x, 27, 9-10) mentions a temple at Aena which was surrounded by porticoes having entirely gilt columns.[2] The golden vines of the pillars 'recall the one overshadowing the royal couch of Darius', a gift of the Lydian Pythias and the product probably of some Ionian workshop.[3] The halls of Sandracottus may be compared in descriptions with those of Ecbatana, which were constructed of cedar and cypress and sheathed in silver and gold. "Neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour", says Aelian, "nor Ecbatana with all its magnificence can vie (with them), for methinks only the well known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison."[4]

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[1] O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. xiv, fig. 1 ; p. xv, fig. 2 ; p. xvii, fig. 3 ; and pp. 32-39 with plates.

[2] *A. S. I. R.*, part I, 1920-21, p. 20, plate XVI, fig. 1.

[3] *A. S. I. R.*, 1924-25, p. 48, pl. viii, fig. (d).

[4] Bachhofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 13.

[5] Dalton,—*op. cit.*, p. l, fig. 40.

[6] Chanda,—*The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India* (*Memoirs of A. S. I.*, No. 30), p. 34, pl. iv.

[7] Dalton,—*op. cit.*, nos. 118, 138, pl. xvii, no. 132, plate xx.

[8] *Id.*, p. xlvi, fig. 28.

From consideration of the bull capitals of the columns in the portico of the Sanctuary at Delos, Perrot and Chipiez arrived at the conclusion that "drawings of the oriental buildings eulogised by the companions of the Macedonian may have existed and were handed about in the days of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ."[5] This is borne out by the fact 'that the tablets dating from as late as the reigns of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopater, etc. found by Loftus at Warka are sealed with rings engraved with Persepolitan subjects.'[6] A similar ring engraved with the Persepolitan bull capital (addorsed) which 'should probably be assigned to the 5th century B. C.', has been obtained at Rawalpindi. The fragment from the side of terracotta vase from Taxila, described above, which is decorated with arrises and festoons in the manner of the Persian pillar base and the Mauryan capital, points to the eastward migration of Persepolitan designs, in the same manner, during the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. The restored ground plan of the hypostile hall at Kumrahr shows the distribution of pillars in square bays according to the Persian design.[7] Its pillars had been set up ten cubits apart from centre to centre measured by the Indian cubit of 18", whereas in Darius' Hall of hundred columns they are 21′ or nearly ten cubits apart measured by the Persian unit of 25,1/3". A mason's mark at the bottom of one of these pillars which has luckily escaped destruction from the conflagration which devastated the building, strongly resembles a similar mark from Persepolis. Dr. Spooner's explorations of the site disclosed the existence of an elevated platform (of earthwork) resembling that at Persepolis. Further excavation only can show whether the mounds at Kumrahr actually contain ruins corresponding in their relative positions to the complex of structure at Persepolis.

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[1] *A. S. I.*, Annual Report Eastern Circle, 1913-14, p. 71.

[2] Perrot and Chipiez,—*op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

[3] *Id.*, pp. 26-27.

[4] McCrindle,—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-42.

[5] Perrot and Chipiez,—*op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

[6] Dalton,—*op. cit.*, pp. xlvi, 29; No. 106, fig. 55, pl. xvi.

[7] *A. S. I. R.*, 1912-13, pp. 53-86 and plates. *A. S. I.*, Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1912-13, pt. II, chap. II, pp. 55-61; 1913-14, pp. 45-74.

The silicious varnish appearing on the Mauryan monuments, for which Mr. K. P. Jayaswal advocates a prehistoric origin on the evidence of a polished neolith,[1] had been applied to the Behistun rock inscription, "apparently to give a finish and durability to the writing.........to give a clear outline to each letter, and to protect the surface against the elements" (Rawlinson).

Evidence is, therefore, not wanting to show not only the migration of Achæmenian arts including Persepolitan designs to India during the Mauryan period, but also the popularity of plans of Persepolitan buildings and characteristic Persian techniques in the capital city of of the empire. The Persepolitan capitals of some of the pillars in the Yusufzai reliefs and of Gandharan pillars of masonry work as the Surkh Minar and the Minar Chakri[2] denote that motifs of Achæmenian architecture continued to be a persistent source of inspiration to the Indian architect long after the downfall of that dynasty.

The Campaniform Moulding in Persia

Thirdly, the antecedents of the campaniform moulding are well-known in Persia and render it impossible that the Indian bell capital could have originated elsewhere. So far, no moulding corresponding to it is known to have been discovered in Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley. A short ring of pendant leaves terminating in a festooned border, bulging in outline, and distributed over Western Asia and Mesopotamia with marked local differences, appears to have inspired the design of the lower member of the second order of Persian capitals.[1] But the Persian base, though decorated with petals disposed between festoons like the said member, differs from it in its characteristic shape and in the design of its petals, consisting in each case of a sharp ridge or arris enclosed between the usual festoons. It is held to be an indigenous product of Persia,[2] 'suggested to the architect by the rude stone block the rustic constructor was driven to employ, so as to save the wooden post of his humble house from coming in contact with the damp earth......The form maintains a physiognomy which is neither Assyrian nor Egyptian nor yet Greek. Nowhere else are the component parts exactly adjusted as these, and above all, turned in the direction we find them here. The decorative theme, the solid shape to which it is applied, every feature is original.'

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. v, pp. 104-05 ; *J. R. A. S.*, 1847, pp. 192-3.

[2] Cunningham,—*A. S. R.*, vol. v, pp. 185-89, pl. xlv ; Fergusson,—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876, p. 56.

The Mauryan Capital and the Persian Base Compared

The Mauryan bell has the same type of petals as the Persian base, the resemblance extending to the short leaves occurring between the festoons at their lower end. It differs mainly in not having a ring of leaves falling on its shoulder, the enrichment being obviously considered unnecessary at a height whence it could not be grasped by the eye. The Śuṅga architect, who must have been aware of the transposition of the Persian pillar base to the top of the Mauryan column, obviously lacked the judgment which made the Mauryan architect eliminate the ring of leaves and revert to the original Persian design, e.g., on the capital of the Heliodoros column. Another difference is in the higher accentuation of the curves of its outline, which it owes to its decorative function on the top of a pillar carrying no superincumbent weight. Its broader festoons and the bold execution of its petals must have been intended to throw the whole design into relief in the blazing Indian light, by inviting shadows in the hollows between the arrises and festoons. The resemblances between the Indian and the Persian mouldings, therefore, conclusively establish the indebtedness of Mauryan art to the Achæmenian. The divergences are only due to the fresh and living inspiration of Mauryan art, which deliberately adapted the Persian motif to Indian climate and purpose.

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[1] Perrot & Chipiez,—*op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90, 118-19.

Hellenistic Influence

Finally, the Hellenistic treatment of some of the sculptures crowning the Mauryan columns constitutes a sort of birth mark for the capital themselves. For, as denoted by the fragmentary handle[1] of the above-mentioned vase from Taxila (depth 1'3" below surface, sq. 25×51'), which is decorated with the head of Alexander the Great in the lion's skin (Fig. 7) and also by the laurel wreath represented below the mural crown on the Sārnāth head, the traditions of Hellenistic and Achæmenian arts had been migrating to India, during the Mauryan epoch, in the same current[2] along trade routes which started from Hellenistic cities as Ephesus, Antioch and Seleukeia on the Tigris and passed through Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis to India.

Evidence for the presence of Hellenistic influences in the art of the Ganges Valley at this period is afforded by two terracotta heads from Sārnāth[3] and Basarh[4] respectively, of distinctively Greek appearance. But in view of Nearchus' statement that 'the Indians quickly learnt to make Greek articles such as the scrapers and oil-flasks used by atheletes,[5] it may not be warranted to trace such minor works of art to actual Græco-Bactrian artists. Two terracotta heads representing smiling children with quaint head-gears, done in a realistic manner, from Patna[6] and Basarh[7] evidently belong to the same class. The laurel wreath and rams' horns which decorate the Mauryan heads discovered by Mr. Hargreaves at Sārnāth (1914-15) are also Greek motifs. The chief contribution of Hellenistic art in the formation of that of the Mauryan lay in the 'advanced power of visualizing,' must have been acquired through the study of western plastic works by the Mauryan artists (Bachhofer). To such study is due the plurifaciality attempted in the sculptures. The animal figures of Mauryan art convey a sense of internal structure of bones and muscles, which is unmistakably Hellenistic. This applies also to the figures on the abacus of the

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[1] *A.S.I.R.*, pt. I, 1920-21, p. 20, pl. xvi, fig. 2.

[2] Elliot Smith,—*Human History*, pp. 474-80.

[3] & [4] Bachhofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 12, pl. 13.

[5] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, p. 418.

[6] *A.S.I.R.*, pt. I, 1917-18, p. 27, pl. xvi, fig. 2.

[7] *Id.*, 1913-14, p. 182, no. 791, pl. xliii, fig. (h).

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Sārnāth capital,[1] which appear sloping off into the background without casting strong shadows so that their style can hardly be taken as 'purely Indian,' as supposed by Dr. Vincent Smith.[2] Dr. Bachhofer points out Hellenistic influences in the treatment of certain details of form, viz., the cheekbones, moustaches and the deeply imbedded eyes of the lions. The comparative freedom in the rendering of the manes of the Sārnāth lions as compared to the totally schematic and conventional representation of the same feature in the Sāñchi and Rāmpurvā lions is also significant. The most convincing proof of Hellenistic treatment is the entasis characterising the shaft of the Sāñchi column,[3] a distinctive feature of Greek architecture. A sandstone capital carved in low relief with the acanthus leaf is stated to have been discovered at Bankipore.[4]

Hellenistic tradition, affected no doubt later Achæmenian works as indicated by the Susa frieze of lions ; but the Mauryan lions differ from the Persian in their comparatively restrained naturalism, and in the suave treatment of their surface, which denote a fresh Hellenistic inspiration at work. On the other hand, a certain lifelessness is common to them and the Mauryan lions generally have their manes rendered in schematic and conventional manner. Again, the sense of volume and linear composition of the Sāñchi and Sārnāth capitals may be considered to be Indian traits. As the ratios of these columns differ from those of the Greek orders, they would seem to constitute an independent order by themselves. The variations noticeable in the said ratios and in the arrangements of the mouldings of the capitals imply that the 'style' cannot have 'taken centuries before it was brought to the state of perfection in which we find it at the time of Aśoka,' as maintained by Dr. Rajendralala. The conclusion is irresistible that Mauryan art and architecture represent a fusion of the Persian, Hellenistic and Indian traditions which dates from the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. I have elsewhere tried to show that this original synthesis took place in the Gangetic plains.[1] Hence, if no monuments like the above have been as yet discovered on Bactrian soil,[2] it does not necessarily follow that Hellenistic influences had not been independently operating on the origins of the Mauryan art in the Ganges Valley. The latter, indeed, do not appear to have been virile enough to stamp out the Persian and Indian forms flourishing by their side. Their simultaneous presence in the same art and archtecture is, nevertheless, indicative of their correlation. Therefore, the undoubtedly Indian elements being left out of account, if the Hellenistic touches in Mauryan art are admitted to be imported features,[3] the same admission has to be made for the campaniform capital, due regard being had to the cultural relations existing between India and Persia at the time, to the Achæmenian influence generally noticeable in the Indian arts and architecture of those days, as well as the close affinities between the capital and the Persian base, the latter being a characteristic product of Persia (549-330 B. C.).

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[1] Bachhofer,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 6-7, 12-13, pl. 6.

[2] Smith,—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Edn. (Codrington), p. 19.

[3] Cunningham,—*The Bhilsa Topes of Buddhist Monuments of Central India*, pp. 193-95.

[4] Smith,—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 'The Indian Empire,' vol. II, p. 109. Cf. R. Mitra,—*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 16 ; Bhandarkar,—*Aśoka*, 1925, p. 214.

The Theory of Collateral Origin

When in 1875 the theory of the lotus origin of the bell capital was first formulated by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, he simply rejected the supposed similitudes between the so called Aśokan and Assyrian capitals as inconclusive in character. Since then our knowledge of Mauryan art and architecture has been considerably enriched by various archæological discoveries and the resemblances between the Persian and Mauryan forms are obviously too close to be ignored. Hence, while claiming a non-Iranian origin for the bell capital, traceable to the Vedic lotus symbol, Dr. Coomaraswamy has tried to explain away the said resemblances as due to their collateral origin.[4] According to him the two forms are cognate, '*parallel derivatives from older forms current in Western Asia* ; Northern India having

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, p. 548 ; vol. V, pp. 697-99.

[2] Bhandarkar,—*op. cit.*, p. 214.

[3] Cf. A. W. Lawrence,—*Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East & West*, pp. 77-79.

[4] Cf. Codrington,—*op. cit.*, p. 19.

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long formed a part of the Western Asiatic Culture complex': or 'common inheritances from an Ancient Eastern Culture that extended from the Mediterranean to the Ganges Valley.........which may well have had a continuous history extending upwards from the stone age.' The moulding being thus admitted to be of W. Asiatic origin, the learned critic only arbitrarily rejects the data for its Achæmenian derivation and antedates its diffusion to India on totally inadequate grounds.

The above theories of the independent and collateral origins of the bell-capital are apparently supported on the plea of continuity of tradition in art. It is maintained rightly by Dr. Coomaraswamy that the whole group of motifs of Western-Asiatic aspect appearing in early Indian art need not be supposod to have been introduced by Aśoka's Persian craftsmen *en bloc.* Indeed, it is not improbable that these motifs were introduced in Indian art at different points of time and through different agencies. Hence the converse proposition that the whole group of the said motifs is derived from a common Eastern culture once distributed over India and Western Asia is equally open to objection. Consequently, each case of similitude between Indian, Persian and Western Asiatic motifs has to be considered individually and by itself, as well as in relation to the entire group of such motifs.

The survival of wooden forms and techniques in early Indian architecture certainly points to the existence of a contemporary or older wooden architecture. But until specimens have been discovered it is premature to maintain that it resembled Mauryan and Śuṅga architecture in every detail. Strictly speaking, archæology is neither in a position to define what was the state of pre-Mauryan arts, nor to enumerate the exact repertory of their decorative themes. The previous existence of decorated wooden rails, deduced by Prof. Chanda[1] from the ancient Indian Tree and Stūpa cults, is rendered doubtful by the absence of ornament on the earliest railings of stone construction,[2] such as the monolithic rail of Sārnāth,[3] the ground balustrades of the Great Stūpa of Sānchi,[4] as well as those surrounding the open court or hall no. 36 at Sārnāth, which have come down in some fragments bearing inscriptions in characters of the second century B.C.[1] In these circumstances Dr. Coomaraswamy's assumption that "the bell-capital must have been a common element of the craftsman's repertory under the Nandas as in the time of Aśoka," is hardly justified.

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[1] Chanda,—'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India,' *Memoirs of the A. S. I.*, No. 30, pp. 3-8.

[2] Cunningham,—*A. S. R.*, vol. III (1871-72), pp. 23 ff.

[3] Sahni,—*op. cit.*, p. 3.

[4] Sir John Marshall,—*A Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 34, Plates I & II.

APPENDIX

Standards in the Mahābhārata and Their Significance

The standards described in the Mahābhārata are distinctive, and are chiefly of the war chariots (III. 173, 37 ; VI. 19, 27 ; VII. 105, 1-29 etc.)[2] ; they are also mentioned in connection with the battle elephants[3] (VIII. 22, 14-15 ; 77. 8 ; 81. 14, 34 etc.) and the horsemen[4] (VIII. 19, 45 etc.). In the war chariots, the standard consisted of a pole hoisted on the "*upastha*" part of the vehicles, crowned by an emblem or emblems of gold, silver, or inlaid work. Lower down were hung bells, garlands and flags of variegated colours, also bearing various emblems.

The standard was set up in position on the chariot on the eve of a battle (IV. 31, 18-22 ; 37, 25-26 ; 46, 1-7 ; V. 47, 102 ; 111, 3-5 ; VII. 2, 25 etc.), or of a journey (II. 24, 21-26 ; V. 82, 20). As in the Ṛg-veda (VII. 85, 2 ; X. 103, 11),[1] it was a part of the warfare to pierce or cut down the enemy standards.[2] It is interesting to note that the Kauṭhemī grant of Vikramāditya V of the Śaka Saṃvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9), mentions *'raṇastambhas'* set up by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka III which were cut asunder in battle by the Western Calukya king Taila II.[3]

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[1] Sahni,—*op. cit.*, pp. 3, 210-12, 214-15, Nos. D/a 13-20, 39.

[2] *Mahābhārata* edited by Pratap Chandra Ray, Calcutta, Sakābda 1809-11. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 67, 30 etc. ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 173, 1-6 ; 174, 9.

[3] Fergusson,—*Tree and Serpent Worship*, pls. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxviii, and xl. ; Sahni,—*Sarnath Museum Catalogue*, pl. v ; Hamid, Kak and Chanda,—*Sanchi Museum Catalogue*, 1922, pl. x. ; Coomaraswamy,—*Indian and Indonesian Art*, pls. viii, xiii, fig. 48, xvi, fig. 54 ; O. M. Dalton,—*The Treasure of the Oxus*, 1926, pp. 52-53, pl. xxviii, figs. 199-200 ; Herringham,—*Ajanta Frescoes*, pl. xviii.

[4] The riders carrying the *Garuḍa-dhvajas* on the Bharhut rails are examples. For ordinary standards, see Coomaraswamy,—*op. cit.*, pls. xii, fig. 42 and xix, fig. 70 ; Cunningham,—*Mahābodhi*, pl. viii, 3.

The following are some of the standards :—

I. *Of gods and goddesses* :—

Vaijayanta (=Indra), of bamboo (?) with golden decorations and of the colour of the blue lotus (III. 42. 8). Bull (=Śiva, VIII. 34. 41).[4] Cock (=Skanda, III. 228. 32). Peacock's feathers (=Durgā, IV. 6. 14). The hoisting of the *Indradhvaja* (1. 63. 17-29) constituted an important cult stated to have originated in the kingdom of Cedi. According to the Mahābhārata it consisted in planting a bamboo pole on the ground 'for the celebration of Indra's worship. The next day...............it was decked with golden cloth, scents and garlands[5] and various ornaments.

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[1] Macdonell and Keith,—*Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 406.

[2] *Mahābhārata*, IV. 57. 39 ; 58. 59, 78 ; 61. 31 ; 64. 6-7 ; VI. 54. 25, 62 ; 80. 13-15 ; 93. 39 ; 96. 75 ; 120. 23, 50 ; VII. 14. 41, 52 ; 92. 31, 37, 64 ; 97. 30 ; 107. 31 ; 108. 9 ; 123. 16, 32-33 ; 125. 21, 70 ; 146. 56 ; 156. 82, 157 ; 162. 18 ; 168. 5, 22 ; 169. 6, 40 ; 170. 14 ; 189. 18-21 ; 192, 14 ; 201. 42 ; VIII. 15. 38 ; 16. 7, 12 ; 20. 8 ; 21. 18 ; 22. 15 ; 24. 40; 25. 6-8, 21 ; 30. 22 ; 48. 27 ; 53. 7 ; 56. 35-36 ; 61. 20, 45-46, 51, 55 ; 77. 65 ; 78. 21, 22 ; 79. 71, 77, 78 ; 81. 5 ; 82, 12, 18 ; 89. 25-26, 64 ; 91. 33-38 ; IX. 10. 31 ; 12. 56-58 ; 16. 38-39, 63 ; 17. 61 ; 21, 21 ; 28. 53-54, etc.

[3] Fleet,—*C. I. I.*, vol. III, p. 18.

[4] Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 133, 61.

[5] This feature may be noted in connection with the *yūpa* worship described in the Rāmāyaṇa (see ante). Possibly herein we have a clue to the significance of the rosettes, palmettes, honeysuckles etc., carved on the abaci of the capitals of the Mauryan Lats, unless they were of purely decorative character. The worship of pillars with garlands is represented on some bas-reliefs of the Stūpa II at Sānchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XLIII) and some railing pillars at Sārnāth (Sahni, *Sarnath Museum Catalogue*, Pl.VI). Garlands are carved on certain fragmentary shafts of pillars, of late Mauryan date, from Sārnāth (*A. S. I. R.*, *1914-15*, pl. lxviii, nos. 16, 21). Cf. Bas-reliefs on the gateways and corner pillars of the Mahābodhi rails ; also *A.S.I.R.*, 1914-15, pl. lxvii, nos. 11, 12, and Mudrārākṣasa, act III, para 3.

....................and the god came himself, accepting the worship thus offered, in the form of a swan.' Kings celebrating this festival were said to secure happiness, prosperity and victory for their kingdoms. The celebration took place in the autumn and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 10-13 seems to show its connection with the harvest festival.[1] In the Kālikā Purāṇa the pole is a trunk of the Arjjuna, Aśvakarṇa, Priyaka, Dhava, Audumbara, Deodar or the Sal tree, selected by the priest with elaborate ceremonies, and set up by the king, properly coloured, clothed and embellished with bells, flywhisks, gems, garlands, flowers, scents, etc.[2] According to the Matsya Purāṇa it is an evil omen to dream of the Śakradhvaja falling down (242. 9). Dreams about embracing the same dhvaja foretells victory in quarrels, at dice and in battle (242. 24-25).

II. *With effigies of gods and other emblems*: Dharma, Māruta, Śakra and the Aśvins (= 5 sons of Draupadī by her five consorts, respectively, said to be descended from the above gods, VII, 23, 85). The Sacrificial Post (=Saumadatti, VII, 105, 22-24, compared to the post erected in the Rājasūya ceremony). Kamaṇḍalu (=Droṇa, IV, 55, 45). Altar (=Droṇa, IV, 57, 2 ; .58, 3-4, VI, 17. 24-25). Fire (=King of Kaliṅga, VI, 17. 35). The Moon with planets and two drums (=Yudhiṣṭhira, VII, 23, 81-82). Malaya (=Pāṇḍya, VII, 20, 20). Plough (=Śalya, king of the Madras, VII, 105, 18-20).

III. *With trees*: Palm and the sun and stars (=Bhīṣma, IV, 55, 56-60 ; VI, 16, 23 ; 17, 18 ; 46, 50). Palm (=Baladeva, IX, 37, 20 XVI 3, 6). Karṇikāra (=Abhimanyu, VI, 47, 7-8).

IV. *With birds, animals, etc.*: Garuḍa (=Kṛṣṇa, I, 33, 13-18 ; II, 2, 15 ; 24, 22-23, V, 82, 20, VII, 79, 36-37 ; VIII, 40, 14 ; X, 13, 4-5 ; XII, 46, 34 ; XVI, 3, 6). Vulture (=Ghaṭotkaca, VII, 23, 87 ; Alambuśa, VII, 168, 18). Peacock (=Vṛṣasena, VII, 105, 17-18). Swan (=Sahadeva, VII, 23, 84). Śarṅga (=Abhimanyu, VII, 23, 86). Sāraṅga (=Pāṇḍya, VII, 23, 69). Śarabha (=Nakula, VII, 23, 83). Elephant and peacocks (=Śalya, VII, 105, 24-25). Elephant (=Duryodhana, IV, 55, 51-52 ; VI, 17, 26 ; VII, 105, 26-27 ; VIII, 56, 35-36).

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[1] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Wilson (Edited by F. Hall), 4, 308-9.

[2] Radhakanta Bahadur,—*Śabdakalpadruma*, Kāṇḍa VII, Calcutta, Saṃ, 1934, pp, 4699-4701, quoting *Kālikā Purāṇa*, chap. 88. See also pp. 4696-4698, quoting *Devī Purāṇa*, chap. 21.

Elephant's rope (= Karṇa, IV, 55. 54-55 ; VII, 2, 25 ; 105, 12-13 ; VIII, 12, 17 ; 56, 87-88 ; 86, 5 ; 87, 87-93). Bull (= King of Magadha VI, 17, 28 ; Gautama, VII, 105, 14-16). Lion (= Uttara, IV, 37, 25-26), 46, 2 ; 67, 13 ; Bhīma, VII, 23, 80 ; Sātyaki, VII, 112, 57-58). Lion's tail (= Aśvatthāmā, VI, 17, 21 ; VII, 105, 10-12). Boar (= Jayadratha, king of the Sindhus, VI, 17, 30 ; 93, 39 ; VII, 105, 20-21). Monkey[1] (= Arjjuna, I, 227, 1-17 ; III, 151 15-18 ; VI, 46, 3-6 ; 53, 4, 5, 27 ; 66, 28 ; 67, 13 ; V, 47, 102 ; 53, 13 ; 55, 7-12 ; 137, 5-6 ; 141, 3-5 ; VI, 50, 43-44 ; 71, 2-4 ; monkey with lion's tail, VII, 88, 26 ; 100, 36 ; 105, 8-10 ; VIII, 40, 14 ; 46, 51-55 ; flags with bells, the sun, the moon and stars, 53, 7-9 ; 76, 27 ; 87, 88-93 ; IX, 4, 16 ; 62, 12).[2] Jackals (= Alāyudha, VII, 177, 19).

Various beliefs relating to the Standard : The standard appears to have been regarded as an auspicious emblem (V, 85, 18 ; XIV, 70, 15, etc.).[3] Bhīṣma refuses to fight at the sight of an inauspicious standard (VI, 108. 79). The falling down of standards forebodes evil unto the Bharatas (II. 80. 24). The imminent death of kings is prognosticated when the standards tremble and give off smoke and when crows perch on them (VI, 3. 42-45). The trembling of the standards when Karṇa goes out to battle is evidently an evil omen (VIII, 37. 8).[4]

Some of the chariots and standards are stated to have been gifts from the gods or else made by the celestial craftsman, e.g. the chariot of Vasu and the Indradhvaja worshipped by him (I, 63. 13-29) ; of Arjjuna (I, 227. 1-17, etc.) ; of Jarāsandha (II, 24. 11ff.), and the standards of Skanda (III, 228. 32) and Kṛṣṇa (X, 13. 4-5). On the termination of the battle of Kurukṣetra, Arjuna's chariot is mysteriously consumed by flames and the Monkey with the standard disappears (IX, 62. 12). The chariot of Kṛṣṇa vanishes when the doom of the Yādavas is imminent. The standards of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are also removed by the Apsaras at that time (XVI. 3. 5-6).

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[1] Cf. Monkey Pillar from Koṇārak, Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, pp, 113-14.

[2] *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 281-82, describes the '*Aśvaratha*' and '*Hastiratha*' rites in which the dedication of chariots having the lion and the Garuḍa standards is enjoined for propitiating Divākara and Mādhava respectively. Cf. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 18-19, 79.

[3] Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 6, 13 ; 7, 3.

[4] Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 230, 3 ; 243, 11-12.

Arjjuna's standard is the most powerful of all and Yudhiṣṭhira is considered the stronger for its possession (V, 53. 13 ; 137. 5-6 ; VI, 19,-29). The circumambulation of the chariot and the standard (I, 227. 17 ; IV, 46, 6, etc.) recalls the similar worship of the Buddhist Stūpas. The Palm and the Garuḍa standards were worshipped by Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa respectively (XVI, 3. 6). The latter, about to perform a journey in the car of Jarāsandha, reflects on Garuḍa which appears at once with the Spirits that dwell in the standard and takes its usual place on the flagstaff (II, 24. 22-23). Arjjuna will not fight under the standard of Uttara ; but by pursuing the magical rites formulated by Viśvakarman invokes the Monkey and propitiates the Firegod, who at once bids the Spirits to their place on the standard (IV. 46, 3-6). The Monkey appears on the flagstaff, only to disappear with the spirits after the battle is over (IV. 67, 13). The standard urges Arjjuna on to war (V. 47, 102). The Monkey with its host of Spirits, gaping and of fierce mien, setting up terrific roars, is time and again described as overawing the enemies.[1] The standard emblems of Karṇa and Arjjuna combat each other when their owners engage in battle (VIII. 87, 87-93). The legend associating Hanumat with the Monkey standard is rather unskilfully woven into the context and might be a later accretion (III, 151, 15-18).

The standards mentioned in the Mahābhārta are thus not only associated in some cases with the cults of Śiva, Skanda and Durgā, with tree worship and the harvest festival, but also appear independently with a characteristic body of beliefs, which point to the prevalence of their independent worship as some period of antiquity.

The inclusion of the Yūpa or sacrificial post (compared in the text to that of the Rājasūya ceremony, among the standard emblems, the occurrence of the Dhvaja in the Ṛg-veda in the sense of banners used in battle as stated above, as well as the mythical association of some of the chariots and standards with Vedic gods, viz., Indra and Agni, indicate that the Vedic people might have been a factor in the diffusion or the elaboration of the trait. Further, its minor importance in the

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[1] Fa Hien records a legend about how the lion on the Sankāśya pillar once frightened the Brahminical opponents of the Buddhists by giving a great roar.—Legge, *Travels of Fa Hien*, pp. 50-51. The function of the Spirits is clearly defined in the *Mahābhārata*, v. 141.4.

दिव्यानि भूतानिजयावहानि ।
दृश्यन्ति चैवाव भयानकानि ॥

Ṛg-veda as denoted by the small number of references, considered together with its existence in the Indus Valley culture, would make it appear that the Vedic people had imbibed the trait from among their neighbours.[1] The animal standards mentioned in the Mahābhārata, not subordinated to other cults, are best explained as ultimately derived from an older culture, surviving in a modified form, in that of the Kuru-Pañcāla country.

It is noteworthy that the distribution of the early Indian monumental pillars considerably overlies that of the chariot standards of the Great Epic and a connection between them may be reasonably postulated. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that during the Gupta period when the '*Dhvaja-stambha*'[2] had been long in the services of Buddhism, Jainism and Brahminism, something of the old significance of the standards appears to persist in the custom of recording '*Praśastis*' of kings who had won fame and victory in arms, on the shafts of the pillars, e.g., the Allahabad pillar of Samudra Gupta,[1] the Bhitari pillar of Skanda Gupta, the Eran pillar of Budha Gupta, the Meherauli pillar of Candra, the Mandasor Lion pillars of Yaśodharman and the Pahlādpur pillar.[2] The lines nos. 29-30 of the Allahabad pillar inscription and no. 9 of the Mandasor pillar inscription leave no room for doubt that the pillars were intended as emblems of victory gained in war.

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[1] For standards used by the princes of the Sindhu and the Madra kingdoms of the Epic which lay in the zone of the Indus Valley culture, see ante. Though domesticated, the elehpant does not appear on the few Indus Valley standards, so far known. On the other hand, the domestication of the animal is noted only in later Vedic literature. See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 100-137 ; Macdonell & Keith,—*Vedic Index*, 1912, vol. I, 'Nāga', p. 440 ; vol. II, 'Hastin', p. 501. But the people of the Gangetic plains must have been accquainted with the animal from much earlier times. A rock painting depicting the elephant at Mirzapore and a terracotta elephant and rider toy discovered at Bhita in the Allahabad District, dateable at the circa 8th century B. C., are noteworthy in this connetion. See, Mitra,—*Prehistoric India*, plate facing p. 154 ; and *A.S.I.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 71-72, no. 1, pl. xxii, fig. 1. The accredited origin of the Indra-dhvaja in the Cedi country shows how the worship of new '*dhvajas*' had been springing up.

The palm and the Karṇikāra standards of the Mahābhārata and the palm and the Kalpa Vṛkṣa capitals of Pawaia and Besnagar offer interesting parallels to the prehistoric tree ensigns and the nome emblems of Egypt, the XXth and XXIst nomes being represented by the Palm tree. Moret,—*The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation*, pp. 40-59.

[2] The Eran pillar of Budhagupta is described as "*Dhvajastambha Janārddanasya*" in line 9 of the record on the shaft.—no. 19 of Fleet,—*C.I.I.*, vol. III.

It is the standards mentioned in the Epic, therefore, and not the Vedic Lotus symbol nor the Lotus supports of Bharhut, that can throw any light on the morphology and significance of the '*Dhvajastambhas*'. So far our knowledge goes, the lotus is not mentioned in connection with any of the above standards. Due regard being had to the case for the migration of the campaniform moulding from Persia to India, the probability lies, therefore, that the said moulding was not of Indian origin and was taken over for enhancing the decorative effect of the *dhvajas* and the structural pillars which had all been assuming lithi and monumental forms with the rise of early Indian art and architecture. The morphological and functional divergences of the moulding from the Achæmenian design, as well as the many variations in form and decoration that appear during its long history as an element of ancient Indian architecture, are explained as due to the natural modification of a trait in course of diffusion.*

ACHYUTA KUMAR MITRA

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[1] It was originally a Mauryan pillar, but was re-used for incising inscription.

[2] Fleet,—*op. cit.*, nos. 1, 13, 19, 32, 33, 34 and 57.

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Topography in the Purāṇas

Veṅkaṭācala

In the Caitanya Caritāmṛta (ii. 9) it is said that Caitanya after visiting Purī crossed the river Godāvarī, passed through various tīrthas, and subsequently, arrived at Veṅkaṭācala. Veṅkaṭācala appears to have been a very sacred place; it is worth while, therefore, to see what information the Skanda Purāṇa furnishes us with, regarding the location of that tīrtha. The first canto of the second volume (Viṣṇu Khaṇḍa) of the Skanda Purāṇa describes the māhātmya of Veṅkaṭācala. The identification of the hill, however, is not very difficult if the inaccuracies which have crept into the passages concerned are eliminated, but considerable difficulties seem to lie in the task of reconciling the present position of Veṅkaṭācala with the position given in our Purāṇa. Thus in ii, i, i, 43-44, 46 is given the topograhical details of Veṅkaṭācala as follows :—

Veṅkaṭācala in the Skanda Purāṇa.

Hastiśailāduttarataḥ pañcayojanamātrataḥ,
Suvarṇamukharī nāma nadīnāṃ pravarā nadī. 43

Tasyā evottare tīre Kamalākhyaṃ sarovaraṃ,
Tattīre Bhagavānāste Śukasya varado Hariḥ. 44

Kamalākhya sarasa uttare kānanottame,
Krośadvayārddhamātre tu haricandana-śobhite,
Śrīveṅkaṭācalo nāma Vāsudevālayo mahān. 46

Here it is said that there is a śaila called Hastiśaila, on the north of which is a river called Suvarṇamukharī. On the north of that river is a sarovara called Kamala, on the north of which stands Śrī Veṅkaṭācala, seven yojanas in length and one yojana in height. That Veṅkaṭācala lay on the north of Kamala sarovara, on the south of which the river Suvarṇamukharī was flowing is made further clear in ii. 19 where it is said that one Raṅgadāsa, wishing to visit Veṅkaṭācala from Pāṇḍya country, arrived on the bank of the river Suvarṇamukharī where he bathed. He then crossed it (19) and came to the sacred Kamala sarovara where he again bathed and performed pūjās. He crossed it (20-21) and gradually advanced towards Veṅkaṭācala. All these clearly show that

Veṅkaṭācala was situated on the north of Kamala sarovara, by the south of which flowed the river Suvarṇamukharī, keeping Hastiśaila on the south.

Hastiśaila is perhaps still to be found in modern Kālahasti, a small range of hills, an off-shoot of the Nagari hills, spreading from Kālahasti on the north to Candragiri on the south-west in the North Arcot district (Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 368 ; vol. III, pp. 116, 240) of the Madras Presidency. On the north of this range of hills from Kāla-hasti to Candragiri still flows a river called Svarṇamukhī, which is undoubtedly the river Suvarṇamukharī of our Purāṇa (ii, i, 113). It can, therefore, be said that the Purāṇic Hastiśaila and Suvarṇamukharī are occupying the same position with regard to each other as they possibly occupied at the time of the Purāṇa. The river Suvarṇamukharī rising from the Velikond range (southern spurs) of the Madras Presidency flows in a north-eastern direction and falls into the Bay of Bengal. But somewhere at a place on the north of the modern Kāla-hasti railway station of the M. & S. M. Ry., it bifurcates and one branch flows first southwards by the western side of the Kāla-hasti railway station and then takes a south-western course by the northern side of the off-shoots of the Nagari Hills. Thus we see that the river Suvarṇamukharī or Svarṇamukhī flows by the north of Hastiśaila as stated in the Purāṇa.

But there are some inaccuracies regarding the course of the river. In ii. 1, 22, 33-4 of the Skanda Purāṇa it is said that Agastya Āśrama was on the bank of the river Suvarṇamukharī. Again in ii. 1, 33, 18 & 31 it is stated that the river originating from Agastya-śaila falls in Dakṣiṇasāgara. Dakṣiṇasāgara refers to the Bay of Bengal as has been found in many cases, and so the river Suvarṇamukharī falls in the Bay of Bengal. The other statements of the Purāṇa, however, are highly improbable. There were many Agastya-Āśramas, but if it was the Āśrama of the Nasik division of the Bombay Presidency, it is not possible that the river Suvarṇamukharī flowed as the far as Bombay Presidency to meet the Agastya Āśrama. The river in question does not reach the western part of the North Arcot district, not to speak of the far western part of the Bombay Presidency. Agastya-Āśrama may also probably be the Agastya-Śaila, wherefrom the river originated as stated above. But Agastya-Śaila is the Agastya-kūṭa mountain of the Tinnevelly district in the Madras Presidency. But this is also highly improbable for the river Suvarṇamukharī does not flow even beyond the Madras Presidency. These inaccuracies, which have crept into the Purāṇa, either through textual corruption or on account of the ignorance of the compilers, must be eliminated in order to find out the true position of the river. A similar mistake occurs again in ii, 1, 30, 24 where it is said that Bharadvāja-Āśrama was on the bank of Suvarṇamukharī. Evidently the river could not have flowed northwards up to Prayāg where the Āśrama was situated (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā k., ch. 54). Again in ii. 1, 34, 25f. it is said that the river Suvarṇamukharī after its confluence with the river Veṇā flowed northwards with great force by the side of many tīrthas, through many dense forests and through the Udakhala country, until its confluence with the river Vyagrapadā after which it flowed towards Vṛṣabhācala. There are various Veṇās but taking it to be the river Kṛṣṇā which is nearest to Svarṇamukhī, no such confluence can be found. The river (Svarṇamukhī) has not even joined the various southern branches of the river Penner which flows on the immediate north of it, not to speak of the far more northern river Kṛṣṇā and also the river Kālindī, with which a confluence of the river Suvarṇamukharī is also described (ch. 25). These are some of the inaccurancies which must be eliminated to find out the real course of the river. It is impossible to think of a river, which flowed through Tinnevelly, Nasik and Madras and at the same time extended up to the United Provinces to meet the river Yamunā.

So the statement of the Purāṇa that Suvarṇamukharī flows by the north of Kālahasti is a geographical fact. It is said that on the north of the river Suvarṇamukharī was a sarovara called Kamala sarovara. About 3 miles to the north of the Suvarṇamukharī there is a town called Tirpadi or Tirpati or Tripati in the district of North-Arcot, 72 miles north-west of Madras, and at a short distance from the Renigunta Railway station of the M. & S. M. Ry. Between Tripati and the river Svarṇamukhī there are still about 32 ponds and large tanks, the most famous of which is Svāmī puṣkariṇī. It is therefore probable that one of these ponds was called Kamala in those days. It is said that on the north of that Sarovara lay Veṅkaṭācala. On the east of Tripati at a distance of about six miles there stands a range of mountains called Tirumala giri consisting of seven ranges, running from north to south and the northern range is called Veṅkaṭagiri. The Padma

Purāṇa (Uttara kh., ch. 90) also mentions Veṅkaṭa hill. But it gives no topographical details. Veṅkaṭagiri is also called Śeṣācala in the Purāṇas and nowadays it is also known as Śeṣādri (Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 240). In the Skanda Purāṇa (ii. 1, 1, 51 f.) it is said that there are many tīrthas in Veṅkaṭācala such as Ākāśagaṅgā, Pāpanāśana, Kumāradhārikā, Pāṇḍava tīrtha. The Tīrthas are all to be found more or less near the Veṅkaṭagiri i.e. the first (north) range of the Tirumali hill, although Ākāśagaṅgā and Kumāradhārikā are now called Viradgaṅgā and Kumāravārikā. On the top of the Veṅkaṭagiri there is the celebrated image of Nārāyaṇa called Veṅkaṭeśvara or Bālāji Viśvanāth. It was also visited by Caitanya (Cai. Caritā. ii. 1) so it can be safely established that the first (northern) range of the Tirumali hill which is still called Veṅkaṭagiri is the Veṅkaṭācala of our Purāṇa situated on the north of Kamala sarovara. On the south of this hill is the river Svarṇamukhī (Suvarṇamukharī), flowing by the northern side of Kāla-hasti. So we see that the position of Veṅkaṭācala as described in the Purāṇa exactly coincides with the present position of the same hill; on the north of Veṅkaṭācala therefore flowed the river Penner which was known in ancient times as the river Pinākinī (Sewell's Arch. Surv. of S. India, vol. 1, pp. 123, 129). That in ancient times it occupied the very same position is corroborated by the following description of the journey of Arjuna from Indraprastha to Veṅkaṭācala (Skandapurāṇa, ii. i. 29): Arjuna first arrived at the river Bhāgīrathī, and then pursuing a course along her bank gradually passed through Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāg and Kāśikā, and arrived at the Dakṣiṇasāgara (39-40). He gradually advanced and by crossing on his way the famous river Mahānadī he came to the sacred place Puruṣottama and thence to Siṃhācala (41). Afterwards he came to the bank of the river Godāvarī, crossed it and after seeing the river Malāpahā on his way, arrived at the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī (42-44). He then came to Śriparvata (45). After passing that Parvata he crossed the river Pinākinī and arrived at Veṅkaṭācala, the abode of Nārāyaṇa. After alighting from the highest peak of Veṅkaṭagiri, he advanced towards the river Suvarṇamukharī (48).

Arjuna's pilgrimage.

This survey of the position of Veṅkaṭācala from the north exactly coincides with the position of the same as surveyed from the south by the route of pilgrimage of Raṅgadāsa. Arjuna, it seems, started from Indraprastha i.e., modern Delhi and came to Gaṅgādvāra i.e., Māyāpurī,

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which included Hardwar (Mbh., Vana, 84). The Kur-P. also says (ii, 42) that Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra are identical. The Vāmana (4&34) and Liṅga Purāṇas also seem to testify to this (e.g. i, 100). So from Haridvāra, Arjuna pursued a course along the banks of the Ganges and came to Prayāg i.e., Allahabad and then came to Kāśikā i.e., Benares. From Kāśikā it is said that he arrived at a place close to Dakṣiṇasāgara, i.e. the the Bay of Bengal.[1] Travelling southwards from that corner of India Arjuna crossed the river Mahānadī and came to Puruṣottama Kṣetra i.e. Purī.[2] From Purī he came to Siṃhācala, a place (hill) which still now bears that ancient name.[3] To come to Veṅkaṭācala from Siṃhācala, he had to cross the river Godāvarī. Then it is said that he crossed one river Malāpahā and then the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī. Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī, must be the river Kṛṣṇā itself, which flows by the south of Godāvarī, and as such it must have intervened Arjuna's way. It appears therefore that the river Malāpahā lay between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. It is probable that the river Muner which meets Kṛṣṇā at Kondapalli is the same as Malāpahā. It should be noticed that from Bezwada to the Sea, Kṛṣṇā becomes wider and wider, and so perhaps Arjuna had to abandon the coastal route and go further up the river Kṛṣṇā to cross it which he could not do without crossing the river Muner which lies between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. After crossing the river;Muner or Malāpahā, he crossed the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā i.e. Kṛṣṇā, and then came to Śrīparvata and subsequently to the river Pinākinī. The river Pinākinī is the river Penner on the south of which Nellore is situated. Śrīparvata therefore might be a mountain on the north of Penner and south of Kṛṣṇā. On the immediate south side of the river Kṛṣṇā there is a Śaila called Śrī Śaila in the Karnal Country in the Balaghat ceded districts (De, Dict., p. 193). This Śrīśaila is also called Śrīparvata and Parwattam. Caitanya visited that hill (Ca-Ca. ii. 9). It was perhaps a sacred place and it is but natural that Arjuna would visit that hill, and more so because the parvata lay almost on his way to Veṅkaṭācala from the river Kṛṣṇā. Thus he passed through the Śrīparvata and then crossed the river Pinākinī or Penner. After that he arrived at Veṅkaṭācala which as shown above was on the south of the river Pinākinī. It thus clearly follows that the topographical records contained in the description of Arjuna's pilgrimage evince a fairly good geographical knowledge of the compilers of the Skandapurāṇa.

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[1] Dakṣina Prayāga means the Triveṇī on the north of Hugli in Bengal (Bṛ-Dharma-P., i, 6 ; A.S.B., vol. VI, 1910, p. 613).

[2] For a detailed topographical description of Purī, see Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1929, p. 659.

[3] A railway station of the B. N. Ry, some five miles to the north of Waltair, also bears this name.

Baladeva's pilgrimage to Veṅkaṭācala.

We have further evidences regarding the corroboration of the present position of Veṅkaṭācala. In chapter 79 of the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, is described a journey of Baladeva. It is said that Baladeva first arrived on the bank of the river Kauśikī and then went to that Sarovara wherefrom the river Sarayu has sprung. He then travelled along the banks of Sarayu and subsequently arrived at Prayāg. There he visited the Pulahā Āśrama. From that place he continued his journey, bathing on his way in the rivers Gomatī, Gaṇḍakī, Vipāśā and Śoṇa, till he arrived at Gayā where he performed Pitṛ worship. From Gayā he came to Gaṅgā Sāgara Saṅgama, whence he travelled southward and reached the Mahendra Parvata. From Mahendra Parvata he respectively passed through the rivers Sapta Godāvarī, Veṇā, Pampā and Bhīmarathī and then arrived at Śrīśaila. Travelling south from Śrīśaila he arrived at Veṅkaṭagiri.

The river Kauśikī is perhaps the river Kuśi or Kauśaki mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi, 34) and also in Var. P. (140). All the Purāṇas agree that the river has taken its rise from the Himālayas and so probably had a course through the United Provinces. It can be supposed therefore that the river Kauśikī of Baladeva was the river Kośi, which now flows through the Rāmpur state of the United Provinces. So from the Kośi river of Rāmpur, Baladeva started and arrived at the Sarovara, wherefrom the river Sarayu originates. The river rises in the mountain of Kumaun, but the traditional belief is that the river issues from the Mānasa Sarovara (Mbh., Anuśā., 155). So it seems that Baladeva went straight north from the river Kośi and arrived at the Mānasa Sarovara. From that lake he followed a course along the bank of Sarayu or Gogrā as it is called nowadays, and then came to Prayāg i.e. modern Allahabad. It is said that there he visited Pulahāśrama. The Var. P. says (143) that Pulahāśrama and Śālagrāma are one and the same place. According to Pad. P. (Pātala. kh. 78) and Bhāg. P. (v. 7) Śālagrāma is placed near the source of the river Gandak where ṛṣi Pulaha performed asceticism. It is not reasonable to think that Baladeva travelled northwards as far as the slopes of the Himālayas from Prayāg and then again descended southwards to bathe in the river Gomatī which was his next halting station from the Pulahāśrama. The inclusion of Pulahāśrama in the list is therefore a textual corruption which should be eliminated. So it stands that from Allahabad, Baladeva marched along the northern bank of the river Ganges, and then reached probably Bhitri where the river Gomatī joins the Ganges, and crossed it after bathing there. From that place he continued his march for Gaṇḍakī. Gaṇḍakī is the present river Gaṇḍak which joins the Ganges flowing from the north, at Sonepur in the district of Muzaffarpur in Bihar. And so when it is said that Baladeva bathed in that river, it follows that after crossing the river Gomatī near Bhitri he journeyed through Ballia and Saran and then came to Sonepur, which seems to be the shortest way from Gomatī to Gaṇḍak. Probably, at Sonepur, Baladeva bathed in the river Gaṇḍak. It is said that he also bathed at Vipāśā. Vipāśā or the Beas or the Hyphasis of the Greeks is in the Punjab. This inclusion of Vipāśā in the list is therefore essentially a textual corruption like the Pulahāśrama which is placed near Allahabad. So if we omit Vipāśā from the list it stands that Baladeva after bathing in the river Gaṇḍak, bathed at Śoṇa, which was regarded as a sacred river and then marched straight east to Gayā. From Gayā he went to Gaṅgā Sāgara Saṅgama, which probably meant a place somewhere near the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, like Arjuna's Dakṣina Sagāra. So from Gayā, Baladeva probably marched southwest and arrived somewhere near the mouth of the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal and then followed a coastal route and reached the Mahendra Parvata. Mahendra Parvata was used by the ancient Indians as a sort of generic term denoting the whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura. It probably meant the hill of Kaliṅga (see Raghuvaṃsa, vi, 54) and the Uttara-Naiṣadhacarita (canto XII, 24) also supports it. However, Baladeva arrived at Kaliṅga and then came to Sapta Goḍāvarī. It was a place of pilgrimage and is mentioned often in the Purāṇas (Pad., Svarga, 19). According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, (bk. viii, s. 34449, Dr. Stein's trans., vol. ii, p. 271) it meant the modern Dowlaishwerani 6 miles to the south of Rajahmundry. We have seen Baladeva following a coastal route and so it is but natural that he would come to the mouth of Godāvarī, and cross it at Sapta Godāvarī or Dowlaishewerani as it was considered a sacred place. After crossing the river Godāvarī, it would have been the easiest route for Baladeva to cross the river Kṛṣṇā and come directly to Śrīśaila which was to the immediate south of the river. But we have seen that Arjuna, after crossing the river Godāvarī, avoided a strictly coastal route and so was entangled in the crossing of the river Malāpahā or the river Mener, before he could cross the river Kṛṣṇā. Baladeva also avoided a coastal route after crossing the river Godāvarī and came across the rivers Veṇā, Pampā, Bhīmarathī before he could reach Śriśaila. It appears therefore that Baladeva was entangled in a South-western route instead of following a strictly southern route. There are many Veṇās, one is Veṇī, a branch of the Kṛṣṇā itself (Padma, Uttara, 74) which rises in the Western Ghats. But it is impossible to think that Baladeva went as far as the Western Ghats to cross it in view of the fact that there are other Veṇās which lay near him.

There is another river called Veṇā or Veṇvā or Veṅgā or Veṇi-gaṅgā which is identified with the river Wain-Gaṅgā of Central Provinces, being a tributary of the river Godāvarī (Mbh., Vana, 85 ; Padma, Ādi, 3). It rises from the Vindhyāpada range. But we have seen that Baladeva arrived at the mouth of the Godāvarī and probably crossed it. So no longer perhaps it was possible for him to retrace his steps north-west up to the northern border of the Hyderabad State to meet the river Wain-Gaṅgā. Veṇā of Baladeva was therefore the Kṛṣṇā itself. Pampā has still retained that ancient name being a tributary of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. It flows by the side of Kampli in the district of Bellary (Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. II, p. 369). The river Bhīmarathī is the river Bhīmā of the Hyderabad State which joins Kṛṣṇā near about the Kistna railway station of the G. I. P. Ry. But it appears that the rivers are not placed in proper setting so far as their geographical position is concerned. For once Baladeva crosses the Veṇā, i.e., Kṛṣṇā and Pampā, than he comes to the Bellary district and then again reverts northwards as far as Kistnā to cross Bhīmā in the Hyderabad State, seems improbable specially in view of the fact that after crossing the river Pampā his aim was to go to Śrīśaila. The rivers might therefore be placed in this order, Bhīmarathī, Veṇā and Pampā. So it appears very certain that after crossing the river Godāvarī, Baladeva instead of following a strictly southern route journeyed westward through the Hyderabad State and arrived at the confluence of the rivers Bhīmā and Kṛṣṇā or Veṇā. Then he continued his march in a south-western direction through the Madras Presidency, by crossing the river Tuṅgabhadrā, which of course is not mentioned, and perhaps by the western side of the

Anagundi hills. This took him to the Bellary district, and he was thus face to face with the river Pampā in order to go to Śrīśaila. Naturally, therefore, Baladeva crossed the river Pampā and probably took a direct eastern course which took him to Śrīśaila standing, as we have pointed out, on the south of the river Kṛṣṇā. Thus we see that Baladeva was entangled in a very round about course, only because he abandoned the coastal route. It is said that from Śrīśaila he arrived at Veṅkaṭagiri and so from Śrīśaila Baladeva took a direct southern route and arrived at the first (northern) range of the Tirumalagiri which is called Veṅkaṭagiri. It thus clearly follows that the topographical records contained in this description of the journey of Baladeva, with the exception of some few textual corruptions, and the literary evidences adduced in this paper to locate Veṅkaṭācala from Hardwar on the one hand and Pāṇḍya on the other evince the fairly good geographical knowledge of the Hindus regarding the upper and middle portion of India.

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI

Dvaidhībhāva in the Kauṭilīya

When a king takes to dvaidhībhāva, he enters into sandhi with one hostile power, and proceeds to meet another. The sandhi may be a hīna-sandhi, i.e., by which the hostilities are ended; it may also be an alliance which takes place before any war is waged between the king and the enemy. The hīna-sandhi is humiliating to the weaker party proposing the peace. But if the king be powerful and be attacked by two enemies simultaneously, he can defeat one of them causing him to enter into a humiliating hīna-sandhi, and turn his energies against the other enemy. The mere cessation of hostilities on one side, be it through hīna-sandhi or an alliance, is a source of of relief and the removal of a handicap in his operations against the other hostile power. The alliance however may be of such a form that the enemy is won over not merely to stop his hostile activities but to render positive help by giving him army and bearing losses of various descriptions. All this assistance may be rendered in exchange for a material gain present or future. The ways in which this alliance may take place and the means by which one party may take advantage

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over the other party, and such other topics, will now be dealt with. The sambhūyayāna mentioned by K. has resemblance to an aspect of dvaidhībhāva. In the former, a sandhi precedes the joining of the combination by a king invited to do so on terms settled by him and the convener of the combination. In the latter also, sandhi takes place between the king and the dvitīyā prakṛti[1] (the second rājaprakṛti i.e., a king in the zone next to the kingdom of the king who makes the sandhi); this sovereign in the first zone is, according to the Kauṭilīya, a 'natural enemy' of the former, and hence one of the features distinguishing dvaidhībhāva from sambhūyayāna is the presence of at least two hostile kings attacking a third king, while in sambhūyayāna, there may be only one enemy, and the king making the combination enters into an alliance with another king who need not necessarily be an enemy. In sambhūyayāna again, active help of the party to the sandhi is in the forefront, while in dvaidhībhāva, the cessation of hostility between a king and one of his enemies is most wanted, no matter whether or not the latter actively co-operates with him in facing the onrush of the other enemy.

Some advantages of a sandhi in dvaidhībhāva.

Some of the advantages, one or more of which can be had by a sovereign, who wants to have recourse to dvaidhībhāva, from a sandhi with a neighbouring king as mentioned already, are : The king entering into the sandhi will be prevented thereby from attacking the sovereign's kingdom from the rear ; will resist an invader from the rear ; will not join the other enemy of the sovereign ; the strength of the sovereign will be doubled by the sandhi ; the transport of supplies and the receipt of help will be facilitated, while those of the enemy will be obstructed ; the party to the sandhi will overcome the various obstacles on the way ; will guard, with his own army, the army of the sovereign while marching from one fort to another or through forests ; will facilitate the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the enemy in case anything unexpected and detrimental to the interest of the sovereign comes to pass ; or will, at the conclusion of the operations when he has received his share in the gain, or his remuneraton for the labours undergone by him, speak well of the sovereign and thereby enlist in his favour the confidence of other neighbouring kings.[2]

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[1] For the definition, see *K.*, XV. ch, 1, p, 430.

[2] *K.*, VII. ch. 7. I have here followed the text of the Kauṭilīya as settled in the Trivandrum edition. The explanations of Mm. T.

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Having army for money, or vice versa by sandhi.

If, however, the sovereign, wanting to have dvaidhībhāva, has any reason for suspecting that a sandhi, by which an army can be had for money, or money in exchange for an army, will work better with a king than his personal co-operation, he should have recourse to same.

Allotment of remunerations or shares in the gains.

In this connexion, the Kauṭilīya speaks of sama-sandhi, viṣama-sandhi and ati-sandhi. When a king superior in power (jyāyas) gets a consideration that is deserved by one who is equal to or inferior in power to the sovereign taking to dvaidhībhāva, it is called viṣama-sandhi. It is also viṣama-sandhi when a king equal in power to the aforesaid sovereign gets the share deserved by a superior or an inferior power, as also when an inferior power happens to receive a remuneration or a share in the gain proper for a king of equal or superior strength. The sandhi is called sama when the remuneration or the share in the gain allotted to a party to the sandhi is commensurate with his status as a power. When a party to the sandhi gets an advantage in his remuneration or share in the gain, not noticed by the other party to the alliance, it is called ati-sandhi.

A hīna king offering sama gain to a jyāyas.

A king of inferior strength intending to adopt dvaidhībhāva can offer different shares in the gains or different remunerations to the parties to the alliance according to their status, and also according to the circumstances in which each of them may happen to be at the moment. He can, for instance, offer a sovereign of superior power a consideration deserved only by one of equal power for entering into the sandhi, if the sovereign of superior power be in calamities, too much addicted to hunting, drinking, etc. jeopardising his health and life, and has acquired such wealth as has created enemies and for these reasons weaker than what he should be normally.

A hīna king offering viśiṣṭa gain to a jyāyas.

If, on the other hand, the king of inferior strength finds that he is almost sure to have the expected gain, and that for recuperating his lost power and increasing his influence or for protecting the rear of his kingdom, a sandhi with a king of superior strength is needed with the offer of a viśiṣṭa (special) consideration i.e., more than sama (commensurate with the power of the party invited into the alliance), he should do so.

Ganapati Sastri have thrown much light on the intricacies involved in the inter-state relations comtemplated in the text.

A hīna king offering hīna gain to a jyāyas.

The king of inferior strength should offer a king of superior power, for entering into a sandhi, a consideration less than what is commensurate with the latter's power if it be found, on the one hand, that he is in calamities and his subjects have grown disaffected and disloyal, while, on the other, the king himself is well-circumstanced so far as fortresses and friendly kings are concerned, will have to march only a short distance to fight the enemy, and is sure to have complete victory over him.

In the sets of circumstances described above, the party to the sandhi to whom terms are offered being an amitra, he can accept them if he thinks them advantageous, or reject them carrying on the hostility (vikrameta) if he thinks otherwise, and at the same time, be powerful enough to do so.

A king offering sama gain to a sama king.

A king taking to dvaidhībhāva should offer a remuneration or share in the gain proportionate to the power of a king of equal status, when he finds that the latter is able to cope with the army of the enemy or that of the ally of the enemy, or with the enemy's troops recruited from among wild tribes, and is well acquainted with the topography of the region which is difficult to negotiate, and through which the army will have to pass or upon which the fight is likely to take place, or can guard the rear of his kingdom during his absence.

A king offering hīna gain to a sama king.

When a king finds that in adopting dvaidhībhāva, he has to enter into a sandhi with another king of equal power, who is in calamities and whose subjects have grown disaffected, then he can offer a remuneration or a share in the gain less than what would have been otherwise commensurate with his status.

A king offering viśiṣṭa gain to a sama king.

If, however, the king having recourse to dvaidhībhāva be himself in calamities and with subjects grown disloyal but has to increase his military strength to avert the present danger, which cannot be accomplished without the help of an ally, then he should offer a special remuneration or a share in the gain to a king of a status equal to his to utilize his co-operation.

In the three cases mentioned above, the offers of the king should be accepted by the other parties who are of course amitras, if he be found to be well-meaning; otherwise, the hostile actions may be continued (vikrameta) if strength permits.

A jyāyas king offering a viśiṣṭa gain to a hīna king.

An offer of a special gain may be made by a superior king adopting dvaidhībhāva to an inferior king to attract him into a sandhi with him with the ostensible object of facing the former's enemy. There may be a sinister motive on the part of the king of superior strength to bring to book the inimical king of inferior power by crushing him after defeating his enemy or by realizing from him what he has given away as consideration after the victory over the enemy is achieved. The Kauṭilīya cautions the king of inferior rank against such a contingency, and asks him to continue his hostile operations (vikrameta) as an amitra if he finds himself strong enough to do him harm and at the same time feels that the sinister motive is at the back of the offer made to him. Otherwise he may accept the terms. Other alternatives open to him in the former case are either to join the powerful king's enemy against whom the preparations are being made or to send to the powerful king in return for the consideration only the portion of the army that is recalcitrant or is composed of men captured or obtained from an enemy and therefore unsubmissive.

A jyāyas king offering sama gain to a hīna king.

A king of superior power taking to dvaidhībhāva can offer to a king of inferior strength a remuneration or a share in the gain commensurate with the latter's status as a power, if the former be in calamities and his subjects be recalcitrant.

A jyāyas king offering hīna gain to a hīna king.

If a king of superior power adopting dvaidhībhāva finds that the king of inferior strength whom he wants to enter into a sandhi with him is in calamities and has to deal with recalcitrant subjects, he can offer the latter a remuneration less than what his rank deserves.

The kings in the last two cases, amitras as they are, were advised to continue their hostile operations (vikrameta), if they find themselves strong enough to do so. Otherwise, the offers are to be accepted.

There may be occasions when it is advisable for a well-meaning and peace-loving superior king to accept a share in the gain (offered by a *hīna* king) less than his position demands. Such occasions are: (1) When the superior king, whose subjects are not disloyal and who is not addicted to drinking, etc., wishes to involve his enemy (who also happens to be the enemy of the *hīna* offerer), engaged in ill-commenced works, in further losses of men and money, (2) when he wishes to send away the recalcitrant portion of his army, (3) when he wishes to bring to his side the recalcitrant portion of the army of his enemy, (4) when he wishes to cause trouble to his *pīḍanīya* (oppressible) and *ucchedanīya* (exterminable) enemy with the help of the *hīna* offerer.

There may also be occasions when irrespective of the relative positions of the king taking to dvaidhībhāva and the king to whom offer is made by the former to enter into a sandhi with him, the latter may demand a very large remuneration or share in the gain for the help rendered. One or more of the reasons that actuate the latter to demand a very large consideration or to enter into the alliance are: (1) the offerer is in calamities with his subjects grown disloyal, and therefore this is the opportunity for ruining him, (2) the well-commenced works of the offerer sure to be crowned with success can be destroyed, (3) the latter can be attacked within his kingdom or during march towards the enemy, when the king accepting the offer comes near unsuspected, and (4) there is the chance of having a large gain from the offerer's enemy (yātavya) to be attacked immediately. The offering party is also advised to accede to the aforesaid demand to have a very large consideration for the military help in view of (1) the protection of his army from annihilation, (2) the prospect of destroying the impregnable fortress of the enemy, and crushing the forces sent to the enemy by his ally for his assistance as also the enemy's forces composed of wild tribes, (3) the chance of the loss and expenditure that will have to be borne by the party to the sandhi on account of the long distance to be traversed and the long time that will be required for the various purposes, (4) the acquisition of the help of the yātavya (the enemy against whom he is now about to march) after he is subdued, enabling the offering king to bring to book the party who is demanding such a large consideration for rendering him assistance, and (5) the prospect of capturing the troops of the enemy with the help of the party to the sandhi.[1]

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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[1] For the passages relating to the sandhi in dvaidhībhāva followed by vikrama, see *K.*, VII, ch. 7. Here vikrama is not the component of dvaidhībhāva called vigraha; it is the vikrama (i.e., prakāśa-yuddha, kūṭa-yuddha, or tuṣṇīṃyuddha) of the party invited to help the king taking to dvaidhībhāva. It should be borne in mind that the party so invited is an amitra who carries on the hostility if he does not accept the terms of an alliance. (See also *K.*, VII, ch. 6, pp. 280, 283).

Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Hīnayānists

The *Prātimokṣasūtra* forms the keystone of the disciplinary literature of the Buddhists. It is fortunate that not only the *Pātimokkhasutta* of the Theravādins in Pali but also the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins in Sanskrit are available for study. The latter has been discovered by the Pelliot mission in the ruins of Douldour-âquor at Koutcha, and edited and published by Monsieur É. Huber in the *Journal Asiatique* (1913) along with a French translation of Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the work. This has been supplemented by Prof. La Vallée Poussin and Herr E. Waldschmidt. Prof. Poussin has published a fragment of the *Prātimokṣa* manuscript and the Sanskrit "*Kammavācā*"[1] belonging to the Stein Collection, as also a fragment of the Sanskrit *Bhikṣuṇī Karmavacana* (Oxford Sanskrit Ms. 1442) in collaboration with Miss C.M. Ridding, while Mr. Waldschmidt has brought out with ample philological and comparative notes the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* and *Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhaṅga* of the Sarvāstivādins from the fragmentary manuscripts discovered and collected by the Prussian Turfan-expedition. The manuscripts of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* were found in Qyzil and Sangim, while those of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhaṅga* were traced in the collection of paper manuscripts at Murtuq. The Chinese and Tibetan sources have also furnished us with ample materials for an exhaustive study of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, and therefore, of the *Vinaya* of the various Hīnayānic schools. Waldschmidt has fully utilised the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* and *Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhaṅga* in his work mentioned above. The editions of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* have greatly advanced our knowledge inasmuch as they have thrown light on the question of the probable form and language of the original *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the 4th or 3rd century B. C., and have thus served to suggest a solution of the knotty problem as to the language of the original Tripiṭaka.[2]

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 843 ff: Nouveaux fragments de la collection Stein.

[2] See Sylvain Lévi, *JA.*, 1912; Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan*, pp. 173-5.

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahāyānists

Though our knowledge of the Hīnayānic *Prātimokṣasūtras* has made a fair progress, we are yet in the dark about the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāyānists. It is only through the citations made by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra* that we are aware of the existence of a *Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. Very likely it is this *Sūtra* that corresponds to the Chinese Sūtra no. 1500 (Pu-sa-chieh-pen) of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (vol. xxiv) which treats of Pārājikā and such other offences falling within the scope of a Prātimokṣa-sūtra. The only other Mahāyānic book that can be treated as a Prātimokṣa-sūtra is the Chinese *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, of which we have a French translation (*Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*) by De Groot.[1]

At the Library of the Cambridge University, there is a manuscript entitled *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra* in the collection made by Bendall from Nepal. Through the courtesy of Dr. E. J. Thomas I have been able to take a rotograph of the manuscript. It contains only ten leaves with six lines in each page. The size of the leaves is 10 inches by 2 inches. The right-hand end of almost every leaf is so much damaged that the last word of almost each line is either lost or illegible. In the appended edition I have supplied the words as far as possible in the light of their Chinese translations where available as also of their context, and the manner of wording usual in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

In line 1 of the last leaf (obverse side) of the ms., we find "*Iti Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣaḥ*" (see the attached plate) showing that the writer wanted to call the work a *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. Whatever may be the writer's intention, it is evident from the contents that the present manuscript has very little to do with the *Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra* cited in the works of Śāntideva.

The Present Manuscript

This manuscript is divided into two parts, of which the first is intended to serve as a manual for the initiation of devotees, lay or recluse, into the Mahāyānic rules of discipline, and the second is a dissertation on the *āpattis* (offences) and *anāpattis* (non-offences) of a

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[1] For further particulars, see my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism etc.*, pp. 293-5.

Bodhisattva. The whole manuscript is really a compilation of extracts from different works, two of which evidently are the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Upāliparipṛcchāsūtra.* The citations from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* appear in the first part and have been marked in the appended text. The *Upāliparipṛcchāsūtra* commences from leaf 5 (reverse side—see the attached plate). Judging by the contents, the first part should be called a *Karmavākya,* corresponding to the *Kammavācam* of the Burmese and Ceylonese Buddhists, and not a Prātimokṣa Sūtra, the second part being a supplement to it. The first part corresponds roughly to the first chapter (Ordination service) of the *Kammavācam,* detailing the formalities through which a candidate is to pass to undertake the discipline of a Bodhisattva. In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* we have an account of the ceremony of initiation of a Bodhisattva but it is written not in the characteristic form and style of a manual of initiation—the form and style in which the present ms. is written. It is in this manuscript that we for the first time come across the formal requests and announcements necessary for the initation of a devotee into the Mahāyānic rules of discipline, and I think, this is the earliest book of its kind so far discovered.

Probable age of the Ms.

The ms. is written, as will be seen from the attached plates, in Rañjā character, a very old script prevalent in Nepal about the 11th or 12th century A.D. Prof. Bendall has rendered easy our task of fixing the dates of Nepalese manuscripts by furnishing us with the tables of letters and numerals from dated mss. of various times from the 9th to the 18th century A.D.[1] If the present manuscript be placed by the side of this table, it will be apparent that its letters and numerals are similar to those of the Cambridge University Library Mss. Nos. Add. 1693 and 1686, botn of which have been dated by Bendall to be 1165 A.D. Of the letters, the following may be particularly mentioned as bearing the closest resemblance to those of Ms. No. 1686 :—*e, ja, tha, dha, śa, ṣa* and *sa.* Of the numerals, 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 are exactly similar to those of Ms. No. Add. 1693, and 5 and 6 to those of Ms. No. Add. 1644. The date of the former ms., according to Bendall, is 1165 A. D. and that of the latter is 1139 A.D. Hence, we shall not be wide of the mark if we put the date of the present manuscript as the 12th century A.D. and its composition, say, about a century or two earlier, i.e., about the 10th or 11th century A.D.

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[1] Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts.*

The Ceremony of Initiation in Some of the Late Works

The ceremony of initiation is described incidentally not only in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* but also in two other late works, viz., the *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* and the *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*.

In the *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana*, a section of the *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* recently edited by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, there is a reference to the ceremony of *Poṣadha* (Uposatha) performed by a lay-devotee. It is exactly similar to the practice still current among the Hīnayāna Buddhists in Chittagong, Burma and Ceylon. On some Uposatha days, a lay-devotee, after taking *Triśaraṇa*, takes the vow of observing eight of the ten *śīlas* for one day or more.[1] Usually a lay-devotee of the Hīnayāna school is required to observe only five *śīlas*. The *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*[2] also prescribes the same[3] for *Gṛhapati Bodhisattvas*. To this it, however, adds the mantric rituals which included among other things not only a reference to the practice of *Maitrī* (Love), *Karuṇā* (Compassion), *Muditā* (Joy), and *Upekṣā* (Indifference), but also to *Pāpadeśanā*, *Anumodanā* and *Bodhicitta*.[4] It is this additional ritual that gives a Mahāyānic or Mahāyāna-Tāntric garb to the Hīnayānic ceremony.

In the *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* (A. S. B. ms.) there are not only directions for the selection of building sites for monasteries, etc. but also an account of the duties of the *Ācārya* and the *Upādhyāya* towards their disciple and *vice versa*, and of the formalities for receiving a candidate into the clerical order. Mm. H. P. Śāstrī has facilitated our work by reproducing in full in his *Catalouge of Buddhist Manuscripts* (pp. 123-6) the passage containing the rules of ordination. The passage may be summarised as follows :—

Pravrajyā and *Upasampadā* ordinations are to be given by an *Ācārya* and an *Upādhyāya*. The bhikṣus did not know how to confer an ordination, so they enquired of Buddha, who gave the following directions :—

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[1] *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*—गृहपतिबोधिसत्त्वस्तु रत्नत्रयशरणपुरःसरं प्राणातिपातात् अदत्तादानात् काममिथ्याचारात् मृषावादात् प्रकृतिसावद्यात् मद्यपानात् च पञ्चभ्यो विरतः।

[4] *Ibid.*

(i) The candidate should be first questioned as to whether he had any of the disqualifications debarring him from reception into the Buddhist Order.

(ii) If he is found fit, he is to be imparted the *Upāsakasaṃvaras* (disciplines meant for lay-devotees), viz., *Triśaraṇagamana* and five *Śikṣāpadas*.

(iii) He is then to choose his Ācārya and Upādhyāya.

(iv) Next he is shaved (leaving a tuft of hair) and asked whether he is still resolute to retire from household life.

(v) He is then given a new name after the school (*nikāya*) to which he belongs and made to take again the *Triśaraṇas* in his new name.

(vi) He is now to take the vow of observing the ten *Śikṣāpadas*.

(vii) He then takes the robe, bowl and the student's waterpot by uttering suitable mantras. And

(viii) Lastly he promises to observe the Uposathas and attain the five groups of acquirements, viz., *śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*, *vimukti*, and *vimuktijñānadarśana*.[1]

Mm. H. P. Śāstrī is of opinion that this was the form of ordination followed by the Mahāyānists,[2] his supposition being based on the fact that the manuscript belongs to one of the last developed schools of Mahāyāna. The ceremony summarised above is, in fact, Hīnayānic without any indication which would give it a Mahāyānic tinge except that a Mahāyānic school has adopted it as its own. The absence of mention of 'Sarvabuddhas' and 'Bodhisattvas', not to speak of the high sounding promises and aspirations of a Bodhisattva, leads us to the belief that the work may have belonged to the later Mahāyānic period, but the rules of initiation given in it are taken *in toto* from some Hīnayānic book of rituals, probably a Sanskrit *Karmavākya*.[3]

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[1] For the meaning of these terms, see *Visuddhimagga*, p. 234; *Milinda*, p. 98; *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 433.

[2] H. P. Śāstrī, op. cit., p. 126.

[3] Cf. *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavacana*, a fragment of which has been published by Miss M. Ridding and L. de la Vallée Poussin; for the Pali *Kammavācam*, see *JRAS.*, vol. VII (Ns.), pp. 1f.

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In the manuscript of the *Kriyāsaṅgraha*[1] (leaf 36b = *Pañjikāsaṅgraha*, leaf 198b) preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, there is a passage containing a description of *Saṃvaragrahaṇa* written in the same style as that in the present manuscript. It runs as follows :

एवं विंशतिप्रकारपूजाभिः सर्वतथागतान् संपूज्य आत्मानं निर्यातयेत्। आत्मानं सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यो निर्यातयामि। सर्वदा सर्वकालं प्रतिगृह्णन्तु मां महाकारुणिका नाथा महासमयसिद्धिश्च मे प्रयच्छन्तु।

तच्च कुशलमूलं सर्वसत्त्वसाधारणं कर्तव्यम्। अनेन कुशलमूलेन सर्वसत्त्वाः सर्वलौकिकलोकोत्तरविपत्तिविगता भवन्तु। सर्वलौकिकलोकोत्तरसम्पत्तिसमन्विताश्च सहैव सुखेन सहैव सौमनस्येन बुद्धा भगवन्तो भवन्तु नरोत्तमाः।

अनेन चाहं कुशलेन कर्मणा भवेयं बुद्धो, न चिरेण लोके देशयेयं धर्म्मं जगतो हिताय, मोचयेयं सत्त्वान् बहुदुःखपीड़ितान्। नित्यानुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ परिणामयेत् ॥ इति बोधिचित्तोत्पादः ॥ उत्पादयामि परमं बोधिचित्तमनुत्तरम् ॥ इति संवरग्रहणम् ॥

(Translation : After worshipping all Tathāgatas in twenty different ways, one should offer himself up, saying "I dedicate myself to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Accept me always and for all times, O Merciful Lords, and give me the Mahāsamayasiddhi (lit. perfection in the great doctrine).[2]

He should wish that the merits thus acquired be shared by all beings, and thereby may all beings be free from their calamities, worldly or transcendental, and be possessed of prosperity, worldly or transcendental, and may they, easily and happily, become Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, the best of men.

By this good action may I become a Buddha, and soon preach the doctrine for the benefit of the world, and rescue beings from their many sufferings. Thus he should always direct his merits to the imcomparable highest knowledge. This is called the 'Development of Bodhicitta'. This is acquiring 'Bodhisattva-discipline'.

This passage is preceded by a formulary ending with the remark इति पापदेशना and is followed by a description of the ceremony with the ending इति आचार्य्याभिषेकः.

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[1] It is a part of the *Pañjikāsaṅgraha*, commencing at leaf 163.

[2] There is a Tibetan text called *Mahāsamayasūtra*, for details of which see Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 176.

In this description, the rituals for *Saṃvaragrahaṇa* occur in the following order :—

(1) Pāpadeśanā,
(2) Pūjana and Vandanā,
(3) Pariṇāmanā,
(4) Bodhicittotpāda and
(5) Ācāryābhiṣeka.

In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* also, Śāntideva treats of the formalities to be undergone by a Bodhisattva for initiation. As they have been dealt with at length in my book, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (pp. 302-5), I shall mention here only the rites composing the ceremony :

(1) Vandanā and Pūjana (worshipping Buddhas and Caityas) ;
(2) Śaraṇagamana (taking refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha),
(3) Anumodanā or Puṇyānumodanā (expressions of sincere approval of others' good deeds),
(4) Adhyeṣaṇā or Yācanā (entreating Buddha to be the guide of all beings ignorant as they are),
(5) Pariṇāmanā (offering up one's merits to all beings for the sake of bodhi)[1] and then
(6) Bodhicittotpāda (development of Bodhicitta).

First Part of the Ms.

The contents of the first part, in short, are as follows :—An adept approaches a qualified Bodhisattva, and entreats him in set words for initiation into the disciplinary rules of a Bodhisattva. Then he confesses his sins (pratideśanā) formally and takes refuge in the Triratna by uttering the Triśaraṇa formulæ. He now develops Bodhicitta, and transfers (pariṇāmanā) the merits so far acquired by the above rites to all beings of the world and takes the vow of looking upon all beings as his very near kith and kin. He then formally chooses (*ācāryābhiṣeka*) his Ācārya who presents him to all the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas and announces before them that so and so has been ordained by him called so and so.

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[1] Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 147 : क्षिप्राभिसंबोधे सर्वं पापं प्रतिदेशयामि यावत् भवतु मे ज्ञानं संबोधायेति प्रतिदेशनाऽनुमोदनाध्येषणा परिणामना ।

It adds that if an adept cannot find a qualified Bodhisattva to give him the initiation, he should present himself before the image of a Tathāgata and declare his intention. He should then proceed with the ceremonies described above.

From this account it is apparent that the present manuscript served only as a manual of ordination, containing as it does, the formulæ for the rites mentioned in the Mahāyāna works noticed before. The rites mentioned above are arranged thus :—

(1) Yācanā (entreating a Bodhisattva for initiation),
(2) Pāpadeśanā,
(3) Śaraṇagamana,
(4) Pariṇāmanā,
(5) Bodhicittotpāda,
(6) Ācāryābhiṣeka, and
(7) Vijñapti (=Pāli : Ñatti=Announcement).

The Second Part of the Ms.

The second part, as stated above, is made up of extracts from the *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*, from which citations are found in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

In leaf 5b, line 5, it is stated that Upāli had some doubts in his mind regarding the Vinaya of the Mahāyānists and wanted to have them removed by the Teacher. His request to Buddha "*vyâkarotu tathāgato vinayaviniścayaṃ*" leads us to identify the work with the Chinese translation *Yiu-po-li-hwui* or *Fo-shwo-chüe-tiṅ-phi ni-kiṅ* restored by Nanjio as *Vinayaviniścaya Upāli Paripṛcchā* [Nanjio, nos. 23 (24) & 36].[1] These two Chinese translations correspond to the Sūtra no. 325 [no. 310 (24)] of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vol. XII, pp. 37-42—*Fo-shui-chüeh-ting-phi-ni-king*. On a comparison of the Sanskrit text as given in the present manuscript with the Chinese translation (Taisho ed., XII, no. 325), we notice that it corresponds to the Chinese translation not from the beginning but from page 39, sec. iii, line 15 up to page 40, sec. iii, line 16, including the inquiry of Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta. This comparision reveals that the present ms. gives only extracts from the *Upālipariprcchāsūtra* and not the whole of it. The original was larger and contained a versified portion, from which quotations are found in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* (pp. 53, 121, 155, 191, 234, 256, 408). The last portion (Taisho ed., vol. XII, p. 41, sec. 2 to p. 42, sec. 3) of the Chinese version clearly shows that there were many verses in the original *Sūtra* towards its end. The quotations given in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* from the *Sūtra* are authentic because the Sanskrit verses agree with those of the Chinese, e.g., in page 155, the verse: Iha śāsani suramaṇīye etc. agrees literally with its Chinese version (p. 42, sec. i, last line & fol.).

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[1] Cf. Tib. *Vinayaviniścaya Upālipariprcchānāma* (f. 220-243) of the Narthang edition of Kañjur (Ratnakūṭa section), vol. XXIV,

Now, if we take into consideration the quotations found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, we cannot have any room for doubt as to our manuscript presenting us only with extracts from the original *Upālipariprcchāsūtra*. In three places, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* has quoted the *Sūtra*. Two (pp. 164,* 178) of the three passages appear in the present manuscript. On comparison it becomes evident that in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* there is an attempt to put the quotations in an abridged form. The passage cited on pp. 168-9 of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*[1] when compared with its Chinese version (p. 38, sec. iii, ll. 4 ff.) shows also that the quotation is given in a very concise form; so also is the citation[2] at p. 178.

The main object of the second part of the manuscript is to point out the two standpoints, from which the disciplinary rules were viewed by the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists.[3] In short, the pith of the disciplinary rules of the Mahāyānists lay in service to all beings, while that of the Hīnayānists was self-purification. This has been clearly brought out in the second portion of the manuscript, where we find the following comparisons:

1. That which is meritorious for a Bodhisattva is demeritorious for a Śrāvaka, and *vice versa*: To wit, a Bodhisattva desires for repeated births in order to be able to render service to all beings while a Śrāvaka cannot even for a moment cherish thoughts for rebirths.

2. The aim of a Bodhisattva is to work for the good of other beings (सानुरक्षा शिक्षा) but this is not necessary for a Śrāvaka (निरनुरक्षा शिक्षा).

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* Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, p. 139.

[1] Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, pp. 153-4.

[2] See text, leaf 7a, l. 5 f.n.

[3] For further elucidation, see my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, etc.*, ch. V.

3. If a Bodhisattva, after committing an offence, strives for a while to develop and maintain the Bodhicitta (=sarvajñatācitta), he can absolve himself from the offence (सपरिहारा शिक्षा) but this is not possible for a Śrāvaka (निःपरिहारा शिक्षा), for the latter should always be on the alert to get rid of *kleśas* (afflictions) like a man whose head-dress is burning.

4. A Bodhisattva may partake of worldly enjoyments but he should at the same time maintain the *Bodhicitta*, and try to get rid of his *kleśas* (afflictions) by undergoing many births and not one (दुरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा). A Śrāvaka, however, should acquire all the *kuśalamūlas* (merit-roots) and be always vigilant like the man with a burning headdress (सावदाना शिक्षा).

5. If a Bodhisattva be guilty of actions done through *rāga* (attachment) and *dveṣa* (hatred), he is exonerated from sin in regard to those done through *rāga* but not in regard to those done through *dveṣa*, because *rāga* makes him attached to his fellow beings (सत्त्वसंग्रहाय वर्त्तते) while *dveṣa* makes him dissociated (सत्त्वपरित्यागाय वर्त्तते) from them, for a Śrāvaka, however, offences committed either through *rāga* or through *dveṣa* are equally blamable.

The Third Part of the Ms.

We are at present unable to give any particulars about the third part of the manuscript as there are only a few lines of it on the last leaf. From these few lines, it is however clear that the writer wanted to explain here the *Bodhicitta*, *Dharmanairātmya*, etc. by commenting upon some texts. It is rather striking that in the manuscript of the *Kriyāsaṅgraha* belonging to the Bibliotheque Nationale, there appears also a dissertation on Śūnya as similar to Ākāśa and so forth just after the ceremony of *Saṃvaragrahaṇa*. Other scholars will, I hope, take up this clue in future and complete the work by tracing the missing pages at least its contents.[1]

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[1] A photoprint of the leaf where the comment is found is attached hereto.

TEXT

बोधिसत्त्व-प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रम्

Leaf 1b ॐ नमः सर्व्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यः। ये च ते बोधिसत्त्वानां त्रयः शीलस्कन्धा
a[2]
उक्ताः। संवरशी*[लं कुशलधर्म्मसंग्राहकशीलं सत्त्वार्थक्रियाशीलं[1] च ते]षु

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* The passages within brackets [ ] have been supplied by me as the ms. is either broken or illegible at these places.

[1] The passage, marked *a-d* (see leaf 2b), occurs almost *verbatim* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (edition of Wogihara—Tokyo 1930), pp. 152-3, where it is preceded by a detailed explanation of the three *Śīla-skandhas*, which, in short, are as follows :--

(i) संवरशीलाः are all those disciplinary (Prātimokṣa) rules given in the seven (?) *nikāyas* and meant for the Bodhisattvas ; they are to be practised by monks and nuns, male and female novices and lay-devotees.

(ii) कुशलधर्म्मसंग्राहकशीलाः are all those good deeds performed by a Bodhisattva, physically or verbally, for attaining the highest wisdom (mahābodhi) after taking the śīlasaṃvaras (disciplines). To wit : a Bodhisattva after being well-established in śīlas, applies himself to study and contemplation, meditation (शमथः चित्तैकाग्रतालक्षणः समाधिः –*Bodhic.*, p. 287) and insight (विपश्यना—यथाभूततत्त्वपरिज्ञानस्वभावा प्रज्ञा—*Ibid.*) and finds pleasure in loneliness ; shows respects to his guru in time and so forth.

(iii) सत्त्वानुग्राहकशीलाः—These śīlas or good deeds are of eleven kinds, as follows :—

(1) rendering friendly help (sahāyībhāvaḥ) to beings in their various useful works ;

(2) rendering friendly help to beings suffering from disease and so forth ;

(3) giving just admonition to persons through religious discourses, or discourses on ways and means in their mundane or supramundane objects .

शिक्षितुकामेन गृहिणा वा प्रव्रजितेन वाऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ कृतप्रणिधानेन

[3]

सहधार्म्मिकस्य बोधिसत्त्व[स्य[1] महापुण्यनिधा]नस्य [2]वाग्विज्ञप्त्यर्थग्रहणावबोधसमर्थस्य[3] पादयोर्न्निपत्याध्येषणा कार्य्या। तवाहं कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति

(4) not only remaining grateful to a benefactor but also giving him a suitable return ;

(5) protecting persons from various causes of fear, e.g., lions, tigers, kings, thieves, fire, etc.

(6) consoling persons suffering on account of loss of property or relatives ;

(7) offering justly (न्यायपतितः) all the necessary means of livelihood to persons who have been deprived of them ;

(8) correcting a body of persons by means of proper gifts and religious discourses (सम्यङ्निश्रयदानतो धर्म्मेण गणपरिकर्षया)

(9) pleasing others by conversations,exchange of greetings, timely visits, acceptance of others' invitations to food and drink, joining, if invited, the people's worldly celebrations, in short, to avoid all actions which might displease others and to gladden them by one's own qualities ;

(10) subduing, fatiguing, punishing and exiling people in order to turn them from evil to good actions by making patent to them things manifest or unmanifest and by good and tender inner will ;

(11) frightening people from evils and establishing them in Buddha's doctrine by showing them hells through supernatural power and thereby causing astonishment.

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[1] *B. Bh.*, p. 152 reads :—सत्त्वस्य कृतप्रणिधानस्या विज्ञस्य प्रतिबलस्य वाग्-।

[2] Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 72 :—देशयामीति वाग्विज्ञप्तिमुत्थापयति। कृताञ्जलिरिति कायविज्ञप्तिः।

[3] *B. Bh.*, p. 153 :—बोधाय इत्येवंरूपस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य पूर्वं पादयोः-।

वाऽन्तिकात[1] बोधिसत्त्व[शीलसं][4]वरसमादानमाकाङ्क्षाम्यादातुम्। तदर्हस्यनुपरोधेन मुहूर्त्तं [2]मदनुकम्पया दातुं श्रोतुञ्चेति ॥ त्रिरेवमध्येष्य[3] एकांसमुत्तरासङ्गं कृत्वा [द][5]शसु दिक्ष्वतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नानां बुद्धानां भगवतां महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां[4] च[5] बोधिसत्त्वानां सामीचीं कृत्वा तेषां गुणानामुखीकृत्य [घन][6]रसं चेतःप्रसादं संजनय्य[6] नीचैर्जानुमण्डलेनोत्कुटुकेन वा स्थित्वा तथागतप्रतिमां पुरतः संस्थाप्य संपूज्य पुरस्कृत्यैवं स्याद्वचनीयः। अनु-

Leaf 2a [1]प्रयन्छ मे कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति वा बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानमिति। तत[7] एकाग्रां स्मृतिमुपस्थाप्य चित्तप्रसादमेवानुबृंहयत। न चिरस्ये[2]दानीं मेऽक्षयस्याप्रमेयस्य निरुत्तरस्य महापुण्यनिधानस्य प्राप्तिर्भविष्यतीति। [8]एवमेवार्थमनु[वि]चिन्तयता तूष्णीं भवितव्यम्। तेन पुन[3]र्व्विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन स तथा प्रतिपन्नो बोधिसत्त्वोऽविक्षिप्तेन चेतसा स्थितेन वा निषण्णेन वा एवं स्याद्वचनीयः। शृणु त्वमेवन्ना[4][मन कुलपुत्रायुष्मन[9] भदन्तेति वा[10]

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[1] *B. Bh.*, p. 153 :—अध्येषणां कृत्वा यथा तवाहं कुलपुत्रान्तिकात्।

[2] *Ibid.* अस्माकं।

[3] *Ibid.* श्रोतुञ्चेत्येवं सम्यगध्येष्य।

[4] महाभूमि evidently refers to the last of the ten bhūmis. Other names of this *bhūmi* are :—परमविहार, निष्ठागमन, तथागतभूमि, बुद्धभूमि, अभिषेकभूमि।

[5] *B. Bh.*, p. 153 adds here महाज्ञानप्रभावप्राप्तानां।

[6] *Ibid.* adds परीत्तं वा यस्य वा यावति शक्तिर्हेतुबलं च स विज्ञो बोधिसत्त्वो नीचे।

[7] *B. Bh.*, p. 153 : इत्युक्त्वा।

[8] *Ibid.* एतमेवार्थं।

[9] Ms. आयुष्मंत।

[10] *B. Bh.*, p. 153 : एवं नाम कुलपुत्र धर्म्मभ्रातरिति वा।

बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि बोधौ च कृतप्रणिधानः। तेन ओमिति प्रतिज्ञातव्यं। स
[5] b
पुनरुत्तरि एवं स्याद्व[चनीयः ।] प्रतीच्छसि त्वमेवन्नामन् कुलपुत्रायुष्मन
c
भदन्तेति वा बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि बोधौ कृतप्रणिधानो[1] ममान्तिकात् सर्व्वाणि बोधि-
[6]
सत्त्वशिक्षा[पदानि] सर्व्वञ्च बोधिसत्त्वशीलं संवरशीलं कुशलधर्म्मसंग्राहक-
शीलं सत्त्वार्थक्रियाशीलं च यच्छीलमतीतानां बोधिसत्त्वा[नामभूत् यानि च
[1]
Leaf 2b शिक्षापदानि ।] यच्छीलमनागतानां बोधिसत्त्वानां भविष्यति यानि च शिक्षा-
पदानि । यच्छीलमेतर्हि दशसु दिक्षु प्रत्युत्पन्नानां बोधिसत्त्वानां [भवति
[2]
यानि च शिक्षापदानि । येषु] च शिक्षापदेषु येषु शीलेष्वतीताः सर्व्वबोधिसत्त्वाः
शिक्षितवन्तः । अनागताः सर्व्वबोधिसत्त्वाः शिक्षिष्यन्ते । प्रत्यु[त्पन्नाः सर्व्वबोधि-
[3] d
स]त्त्वाः शिक्षन्ते । तेन प्रतिगृह्णामीति प्रतिज्ञातव्यं[2] ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

समन्वाहरन्तु[3] मां दशदिग्लोकधातुसन्निपतिता बुद्धा भगवन्तो बोधि-
[4]
[सत्त्वाः । स]मन्वाहरत्वाचार्य्योऽहमेवन्नामा यत्किञ्चिनकायवाङ्मनोभिर्बुद्ध-

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[1] *B. Bh.*, p. 153 omits *b-c*.

[2] *B. Bh.*, p. 154 here has the following few lines : एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि तेन च विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन वक्तव्यम्। तेन च समादापकेन बोधिसत्त्वेन यावत् त्रिरपि प्रतिज्ञातव्यं पृष्टेन। एवं हि तेन विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन तस्य परिग्राहकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य यावत् त्रिरपि बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानं दत्त्वा प्रतिज्ञां च प्रतिगृह्य व्युत्थिता एव तस्मिं (*sic.*) प्रतिग्राहके बोधिसत्त्वे तस्या एव तथागतप्रतिमायाः and then as given in this text leaf 4a, line 4 up to बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानं समात्तमिति in leaf 4 b, line 3.

[3] For almost a *verbatim* correspondence of certain portions of this passage, see *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 170.

बोधिसत्त्वान् मातापितरौ तदन्यान् वा सत्त्वान् समागम्येह[ज]न्मन्यन्येषु वा [5] [जन्मां]तरेषु मयापायं कृतं कारितमनुमोदितं वा तन् सर्व्वमैकध्यमभिसंक्षिप्य पिण्डयित्वा तुलयित्वा सर्व्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वानामाचार्य्य[स्य [6] चा]न्तिकेऽग्रया प्रवरया प्रतिदेशनया प्रतिदेशयामि जानन् स्मरन् न प्रतिच्छादयामि[1] ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥[2]

Leaf 3a सोहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपा[1] [दा]य आबोधिमण्डनिषदनात् बुद्धं भगवन्तं महाकारुणिकं सर्व्वज्ञं सर्व्वदर्शिनं सर्व्ववैरभयातीतं महापुरुषमभेद्यकायमनुत्तरकायं धर्म्मकायं [2] शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्र्यम् ॥ सोऽहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपादाय आबोधिमण्डनिषदनाद्धर्मं[3] शरणं गच्छामि [3] शान्तं विरागाणां प्रवरम् । सोऽहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपादाय आबोधिमण्डनिषदनादवैवर्त्तिकबोधिसत्त्वसंघं [4] शरणं गच्छामि गणाणां श्रेष्ठम्[4] ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥[5]

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[1] Ms. प्रतिच्छादहयामि ।

[2] These few lines, omitted in the *B. Bh.*, speak of the mode of confession (pāpadeśanā) adopted by the Bodhisattvas. See my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism etc.*, pp. 304-5 ; *Bodhic.*, p. 154 ; *Śikṣā.*, pp. 160ff. ; 168-9 ; *Svayambhū P.*, pp. 116-8.

[3] Ms. निषदाना ।

[4] For a parallel passage, see *Kriyāsaṅgraha-Pañjikā*, an extract from which is given in Mm. H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of Buddhist Manuscripts*, p. 123.

[5] Here we find the formula for *Triśaraṇagamana* of the Bodhisattvas. Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, p. 58 :

बुद्धं गच्छामि शरणं यावदाबोधिमण्डतः ।
धर्मं गच्छामि शरणं बोधिसत्त्वगणं तथा ॥

सोहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्ययस्त्रिशरणगतोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातूत्तारणायाभ्युद्धर-
[5] [णाय] संसारदुःखात् परित्राणाय सर्व्वज्ञज्ञाने अनुत्तरे प्रतिष्ठापनाय। यथा
ते अतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्ना बोधिसत्त्वा बोधिचित्त[मुत्पाद्य [6] बुद्ध]त्वमधिगतवन्तोऽधि-
गमिष्यन्ति अधिगच्छन्ति च। यथा सर्व्वबुद्धाऽनावरणेन बुद्धज्ञानेन बुद्ध-
Leaf 3b चक्षुषा जानन्ति पश्यन्ति यथा धर्म्माणां [निःस्वभावताम (?)] [1] नुजानन्ति।[1]

तेन विधिना अहमेवंनामा एवंनाम्न आचार्य्यस्यान्तिकात् सर्व्वबुद्धबोधि-
सत्त्वानां च पुरतोऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ चित्तमुत्पाद[यामि ॥ [2] त्रिरे]वम् ॥[2]

इदं चाहमत्ययदेशनात्रिशरणगमनबोधिचित्तोत्पादजनितं कुशलमूल-
मनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधौ परिणामया[मि[3] यदहं] [3] लोके अशरणे अलयने

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. D. A. Dharmacarya for helping me in the decipherment of the first three leaves, before I received Mr. Wogihara's edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi.*

[2] After Triśaraṇagamana, a Bodhisattva utters this formula for developing *Bodhicitta*. The commentator of the *Bodhic.* (p. 4) remarks that the बोधिसत्त्वशिक्षासमादानम् precedes बोधिचित्तग्रहणम्।

The *Bodhicitta* consists in the candidate's taking the vow that he will attain *bodhi* not so much to save himself as to save the wordly beings from their wordly miseries and lead them uitimately to Buddhahood. See *Bodhic.*, ch. 1; *Śikṣā.*, pp. 5ff. Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 14:

भवदुःखशतानि तर्तुकामैरपि सत्त्वव्यसनानि हर्तुकामैः।
बहुसौख्यशतानि भोक्तुकामैर्न विमोच्यं हि सदैव बोधिचित्तम् ॥

[3] By *Pariṇāmanā* a Bodhisattva transfers the merits acquired by him to all living beings; he should wish it from his inmost heart and not by words alone. See *Bodhic.*, p. 79, quoting *Vajradhvajasūtra* and *Śikṣā.*, pp. 29f. तच्चाध्याशयतः परिणामयति न वचनमात्रेण। तच्चोदग्रचित्तः परिणामयति। हृष्टचित्तः प०। प्रसन्नचित्तः प०। etc.

अपरायणेऽद्वीपे त्राणं शरणं लयनं परायणं द्वीपो भवेयम्। सर्व्वसत्त्वांश्च

[4]

भवार्णवादतीर्णांस्तारयेयम्। [अप]रिनिर्वृतानानावरणेन धर्म्मधातुपरिनिर्व्वाणेन परिनिर्व्वापयेयम्। अनाश्वस्तानाश्वासयेयम्॥ त्रिरपि॥

[5]

सोहमेवंनामा ए[वमु]त्पादितबोधिचित्तोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातुं[1] यथा माता-

[6]

पितृभगिनीभ्रातृपुत्रदुहितृन्यतमान्यतमज्ञातिसालोहितस्थानीयांस्तथा प्रतिगृह्णामि।[2] प्रतिगृह्य च यथाशक्ति यथाबलं यथाज्ञानं[3] कुशलमूलं समारोपयामि। इतः प्रभृति यत्किञ्चित् दानं दास्यामि शीलं रक्षिष्यामि क्षां[तिं]

[1]

Leaf 4a संपादयिष्यामि वीर्यमारभ्य ध्यानं समापत्स्ये प्रज्ञया व्यवचार्य्य[4] उपायकौशल्यं वा शिक्षिष्ये तत् सर्व्वसत्त्वानामर्थाय हिताय सुखाय॥[5]

[2]

[उत्त]रां च सम्यक्संबोधिमारभ्य तेषां महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां बोधिसत्त्वानां

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[1] Ms. अनन्ता।

[2] Cf. *Bodhic.* p. 72: i.e. जानामि पश्यामि (op. cit).

One of the essential conditions for becoming a Bodhisattva is that he must not distinguish himself or his relatives from the other wordly beings, i. e. he must think himself as one with all the beings of the world. Just as one takes care of the various limbs of his body and do not distinguish the limbs from the body, so also a Bodhisattva must look upon all the beings as parts and parcels of his body and hence any of their sufferings is his suffering. See *Bodhic.*, pp. 326 ff.; *Śikṣā.*, p. 19.: तेन तथा तथा चित्तमुत्पादयितव्यं यथा यथास्य सर्व्वसत्त्वेषु पुत्रप्रेमानुगता मैत्र्युत्पद्यते।

[3] Ms. यथाजामानं।

[4] Ms. व्यवचारयिष्य।

[5] The formula of *Pariṇāmanā* ends here. In the *Kriyāsaṅgraha* (see Intro.) it will be observed that this is one of the many declarations necessary for developing Bodhicitta.

महाकारुणिकाणां महायानं सामिचीमनुप्रव्रजामि । अनु[प्रव्रज्य] [3] बोधिसत्त्वोऽहं
बोधिसत्त्व इति मामितः प्रभृत्याचार्य्यो धारयतु[1] ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

ततस्तेनाचार्य्येण तस्याः प्रतिमायाः[2] पुरतो दशसु दिक्षु [बु]द्धबोधि- [4]
सत्त्वानां तिष्ठतां ध्रियतां यापयतां; पादयोर्न्निपत्य सामिचीं कृत्वा एवमारो-
चयितव्यम् । गृहीतमनेनैवंनाम्ना बोधिसत्त्वं[न [5] म]मैवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्व-
स्यान्तिकात् यावत् त्रिरपि बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानम् । सोऽहमेवंनामा
बोधिसत्त्व[3] आत्मानं साक्षिभूतं [6] प्रज्ञा[नन][4] [5]अस्यैवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्वस्य
परमार्य्याणां विपरोक्षाणामपि सर्वत्र सर्व्वसत्त्वानां विपरोक्षबुद्धीनां दश
Leaf 4b दिक्ष्वनन्तापर्य्यन्तेषु लोकधातुष्वा[रोचयामि । [1] अ]स्मिन बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवर-
समादानम् ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

एवं पुनः शीलसंवरसमादानकर्म्मसमाप्त्यनन्तरं धर्म्मता खल्वेषा यद्
दशसु दिक्ष्वनन्ता[पर्य्यन्तेषु [2] लोक]धातुषु तथागतानां तिष्ठतां ध्रियतां यापयतां
महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां च बोधिसत्त्वानां तद्रूपं निमित्तं प्रादुर्भवति येन तेषामे[वं

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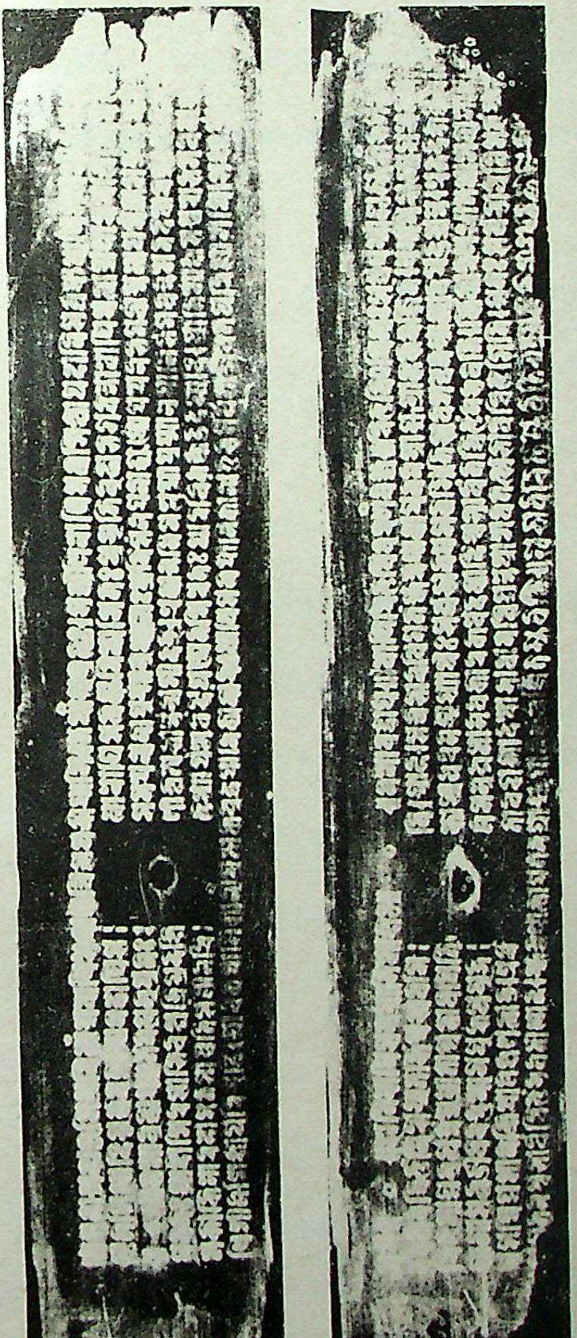
[1] Here we find the formula for आचार्य्याभिषेकः । Cf. *Kriyāsaṅgraha* (Bibl. Nat. ms.), leaf 44.

[2] From here, the *B. Bh.*, (pp. 154-5) again corresponds up to समादानं समात्तमिति in the next page.

[3] Omitted in *B. Bh.*, p. 154.

[4] Omitted in *B. Bh.*, p. 154.

[5] *B. Bh.*, p. 154: अस्यैतत् ।



बोधिसत्त्व-प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रम्

भवति। [3]*a* एवंनाम्ना बोधिसत्त्वेन एवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्वस्यान्तिकात्[1] *b* बोधिसत्त्व-
शीलसंवरसमादानं समात्तमिति ॥[2] एवं तावत् परतः समादान[4][विधिरु]क्तः ॥[3]

यदि तैर्गुणैर्युक्तः पुद्गलो न सन्निहितः स्यात् ततो बोधिसत्त्वेन
तथागतप्रतिमायाः पुरतः स्वयमपि बोधिसत्त्वशी[5][लसंवर]समादाने वचनीयम्।
एवं च करणीयम्। एकांसमुत्तरासङ्गं कृत्वा दशसु दिक्ष्वतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नानां
बुद्धानां भगवतां महा[6][भूमि]प्रविष्टानां च बोधिसत्त्वानां सामीचीं कृत्वा दक्षिणं
जानुमण्डलं पृथिव्यां प्रतिष्ठाप्य उत्कुटुकेन वा इदं स्याद्वचनीयम्। अहमेवंनामा
Leaf 5a दशसु दिक्षु [1][सर्व्वत]थागतान् महाभूमिप्रविष्टांश्च बोधिसत्त्वान् विज्ञापयामि।
तेषां पुरतः सर्व्वाणि बोधिसत्त्वशिक्षापदानि सर्व्वं च बोधिसत्त्वशीलं समाद[दे]।
[2] यच्छीलमित्यादि पूर्व्ववत्[4] यावत् बोधिसत्त्वो बोधिसत्त्व इति। मामितः
प्रभृति बुद्धा भगवन्तो बोधिसत्त्वाश्च धारयन्त्विति विज्ञप्तिः ॥ ० ॥

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[1] *B. Bh.*, p. 155 drops this line *a-b*.

[2] Correspondence with the *B. Bh.*, p. 155 ends here.

[3] The directions given in the following few lines are intended for one who cannot find a suitable Bodhisattva preceptor to give him formal initiation into the disciplinary conduct of a Bodhisattva.

[4] See before leaf 2b line 1 up to मामितः प्रभृतिः in leaf 4a l. 3.

[विनयविनिश्चय उपालिपरिपृच्छा *]

[3]
नमो बुद्धाय ।। तेन खलु पुनः समयेनायुष्मानुपालिः प्रतिसंल्यनान्
[4]
व्युत्थाय येन भगवांस्तेनोपसंक्रामत् । उपसंक्र[म्य भ]गवतः पादौ शिरसाभि-
वन्द्य [1]त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्यैकान्तं न्यसीदत् । एकान्तनिषण्णश्चायुष्मानुपालिः
[5]
भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । इह भगव[न्म]मैकाकिनो रहोगतस्य प्रतिसंलीन-
चित्तस्यायमेवंरूपश्चेतसि चेतःपरिवितर्क उदपादि । प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो भगवता
[6]
प्रज्ञ[प्तश्चा]धिशीलशिक्षापरिशुद्धिः श्रावकयानिकानां प्रत्येकबुद्धयानिकानां च ।
बोधिसत्त्वयानिकानां तु भगवता [2]जीवितपरित्यागेऽपि [3]शिक्षा[प्यत्र परि-
[1]
Leaf 5b दे]शिता निर्दिष्टा । तत् कथं भगवतः परिनिर्वृतस्य तिष्ठतो वा श्रावकयानिकानां
[2]
प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो वक्तव्यः । कथं प्रत्येकबुद्धयानिकानाम् । क[थं महाया]न-
संप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो वक्तव्यः । अहं भगवता विनय-
[3]
पराणामग्रो निर्दिष्टः । तस्य मे भगवन वि[ज्ञापयतूपा]यकौशल्यं सम्प्रकाशयतु
भगवन् यथा भगवतः सकाशात् सम्मुखं श्रुत्वा सम्मुखं प्रतिगृह्य वैशारद्य-
[4]
प्राप्तः पर्षत्सु विस्तरेण संप्रकाशयेयम् । अयं मे भगवन्नेकाकिनो रहोगतस्य
प्रतिसंलीनस्यैवंरूपश्चेतसि चेतःपरिवितर्क उदपादि यत्त्वहं भगवन्तमुपसंक्र[म्य]

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* This heading has been supplied by me ; it is not given in the ms. See the attached plate.

[1] Ms. त्रि for त्रिः

[2] Ms. जीषस

[3] Ms. सिक्षा

[5]
विनयविनिश्चयं परिपृच्छेयमिति। तत् साधु भगवन् व्याकरोतु तथागतो
[6]
विनयविनिश्चयं विस्तरेण महती भिक्षुपर्षत् सन्निपति[ता] बोधिसत्त्वपर्षच्च।

एवमुक्ते भगवानायुष्मन्तमुपालिमेतदवोचत्। तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले अन्येन
[1]
Leaf 6a प्रयोगेणान्येनाध्याशयेन श्रावकयानिकानां [शिक्षा]परिशुद्धिं वद। अन्येन
प्रयोगेणान्येनाध्याशयेन महायानसंप्रस्थितानां शिक्षापरिशुद्धिं वद। तत्
[2]
कस्माद्धेतोः। अन्यो ह्युपाले श्रावक[या]निकानां प्रयोगोऽन्योऽध्याशयः।¹ अन्यो
महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रयोगोऽन्योऽध्याशयः। तत्रोपाले या श्रावक-
[3]
यानिकस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा महायानिकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता
[4]
परमदौःशील्यञ्च। या महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधि[सत्त्वस्य] परिशुद्धशीलता सा
श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यञ्च। तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। इहोपाले
[5]
श्रावकयानिकस्तत्क्षणि[कचित्तेऽ]पि भवोपपत्तिं² न परिगृह्णाति। इयं श्रावक-
यानिकस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा महायानिकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता
[6]
परम[दौः]शील्यञ्च। कतमोपाले मह. .नसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिशुद्ध-
[1]
Leaf 6b शीलता या श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यञ्च। इहोपाले
महायाने संप्रस्थितो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वोऽप्रमेयासंख्येयान् कल्पान् भवोप-
[2]
पत्तिं परिगृह्णाति अपरिखिन्नचित्तोऽपरिखिन्नमानसः। [इ]यं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य

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1 Ms. अध्यासयः

2 Ms. भावोत्पत्तिं

बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यञ्च ।

तस्मात्तर्हि [3] [त्वमुपा]ले सानुरक्षां शिक्षां महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । निरनुरक्षां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद । सपरिहारां शिक्षां [4] महा[यानसं]प्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । निःपरिहारां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद । दूरानुप्रविष्टां शिक्षां महायानसंप्रस्थितानां [5] बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । सावदानां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद ।

कथं चोपाले सानुरक्षा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां [6] [निरनुरक्षा शि]क्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम् । इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेन परसत्त्वानां परपुद्गलानां हितमनुवर्त्तितव्यं न पुनः श्रावक[यानिकेन] ।

Leaf 7a [1] अनेनोपाले पर्य्यायेण सानुरक्षा[1] शिक्षा महायानिकानां बोधिसत्त्वानां निरनुरक्षा शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम् ।

कथं चोपाले सपरिहा[रा शिक्षा [2] महा]यानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां निःपरिहारा शिक्षा[2] a श्रावकयानिकानाम् । [3]इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितो बोधिस[त्त्वोऽपि [3] सचेत् पूर्व्वा]ह्णसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत मध्याह्नकाले[4] सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो

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[1] Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 130 : सानुरक्षं परिजनस्याविवातं कृत्वा ग्रन्यस्मै दानात् ।

[2] Ms. omits it.

[3] The passage marked *a* - *b* is cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 178.

[4] *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 : कालसमये throughout.

[4]
विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः। सचेन्म-
ध्याह्नसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत सायाह्नकाले सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो विहरेद-
[5]
पर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसं[प्रस्थि]तस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः[1]। सचेत्
सायाह्नसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत रात्र्याः पुरिमयामे सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो
[6]
[विहरे]दपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः। सचेत्
[1]
Leaf 7b रात्र्याः पुरिमयामे आपत्तिमापद्येत रात्र्याश्च मध्यमयामे सर्व्वज्ञता[चि]त्तेना-
विरहितो विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः।
[2]
सचेत् रात्र्या मध्यमयामे आपत्तिमा[प]द्येत रात्र्याश्च [पश्चिम]यामे सर्व्वज्ञता-
चित्तेनाविरहितो विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः। एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शील-
[3]
स्कन्धो वेदितव्यः। एवं ह्युपाले [सप]रिहारा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां
बोधिसत्त्वानाम्। तत्र बोधिसत्त्वेन [2]नात्र कौकृत्यपर्य्युत्थानमुत्पाद्यं नातिविप्रति-
[4]
सारिणा भवितव्यम्। तत्रोपाले[3] [4]सचेच्छ्रावकयानिकः पुनः पुनरापत्तिमापद्येत
b [5]
नष्टः श्रावकयानिकस्य[5] शीलस्कन्धो वेदितव्यः।[6] तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। आदीप्त-
शिरश्चैलोपमेन[7] हि श्रावकयानिकेन भवितव्यं सर्व्वक्लेशप्रहाणाय। एवं निः-
[6]
परिहारा शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकस्य [ह्युपाले [8]प]रिनिर्व्वाणकामस्य।

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[1] *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 abridges the remaining few lines by saying एवं यामे यामे विधिरुक्तः।

[2] *Śikṣā.*, p. 173 : नाति

[3] Omitted in *Śikṣā.*, p. 178.

[4] *Śikṣā.*, p. 178 : सचेत्पुनः श्रावकयानीयः पुद्गलः

[5] *Śikṣī.*, p. 178 : श्रावकस्य पुद्गलस्य

[6] Here ends the citation of the *Śikṣā.*, p. 178,

[7] Ms. चिलो

[8] Ms. परिनिर्व्वान्त

कथं चोपाले दूरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां Leaf 8a सावदाना शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम्। इहोपाले [1] महायानसंप्रस्थितो बोधिसत्त्वो गङ्गानदीवालिकासमान् कल्पान् पञ्चभिः कामगुणैः क्रीड़ित्वा रमित्वा परिचारयित्वा[1] बोधिचित्तं नोत्सृजति। [अयमुपाले म][2]हायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शिक्षा वेदितव्या। तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। भविष्यत्युपाले स कालः स समयो यन्महायान[संप्रस्थितो [3] बोधिस]त्त्वस्तेनैव बोधिचित्तेन सुपरिगृहीतेन स्वप्नान्तरगतोऽपि सर्व्वक्लेशैर्न्न संहरिष्यते। अपि च महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेन [4] [नैकस्मि]न्नेव भवे सर्व्वक्लेशाः क्षपयितव्याः। अनुपूर्व्वेण बोधिसत्त्वानां क्लेशाः क्षयं गच्छन्ति। परिपक्वकुशलमूलेन च श्रावकयानिकेनादी[प्र[5]शि]रश्चैलोपमेन हि [2]तत्क्षणिकोऽपि भवोपपत्तिर्नोत्पादितव्या[3]। एवमुपाले दूरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वा[नां [6] साव]दाना शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम्।

तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले सानुरक्षां सपरिहारां दूरानुप्रविष्टां शिक्षां Leaf 8b महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां [वद। [1] निरनु]रक्षां निःपरिहारां सावदानां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद। तत कस्माद्धेतोः। महासंभारा ह्युपालेऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिर्न सुकरा एकान्तनि[विष्टेन] [2] महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेनाप्रमेयासंख्येयान् कल्पान् संधारयितुं संसरितुम्। इदं चोपालेऽर्थ-

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[1] Ms. परिचायित्वा

[2] Ms. तत क्षणिको

[3] Ms. नोपाद्दितव्या

[3] वशं[1] सम्पश्यन्[2] तथा[गतः सम्य]क्सम्बुद्धो महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां नैकान्तनिर्व्वेदकथां कथयति नैकान्तविरागकथां कथयति नैकान्तसंवेगकथां [4] [कथ]यति। अपि तु खलु पुनः प्रीतिकथां प्रामोद्यकथां प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादसम्प्रयुक्तकथां कथयति।[3] गम्भीरामसंक्लिष्टां सूक्ष्मां निः[कौकृत्यकथां] कथयति। निःपर्य्युत्थानकथां कथयति। असङ्क्रामनावरणां शून्यताकथां कथयति। त इमां कथां श्रुत्वाऽभि[रताः संप्राप्ता न [6] प]रिखिद्यन्ते बोधिसम्भारञ्च परिपूरयन्ति।

अथ ह्यायुष्मानुपालिः भगवन्तमेतदवोचत। या इमा भगवन्नापत्तयः Leaf 9a [1] काश्चिद्राग[संयुक्ताः काश्चित्] द्वेष[सं]युक्ताः काश्चिन्मोहसंयुक्ताः। तत्र कतमा भगवन् महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य गुरुतरा आपत्तयः।[4] किं [2] रागसंप्रयुक्ता उताहो द्वेषसंप्रयुक्ताः उताहो मोहसंप्रयुक्ताः। एवमुक्ते भगवानायुष्मन्तमुपालिमेतदवोचत। [a] सचेदुपाले[5] महायानसंप्रस्थितो

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[1] Ms. वसं [2] Ms. सपश्यन्

[3] Cf. the corresponding Hīnayānic expression in *Vinaya*, I, p. 15; *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 141; दानकथं सीलकथं सग्गकथं कामानामादीनवमोकारं संकिलेसं नेक्खम्मे आनिसंसम्पकासेसि। अथ या बुद्धानां सामुक्कंसिका धम्मदेसना तं पकासेसि, दुक्खं समुदयं निरोधं मग्गम्।

[4] *Śikṣā*, p. 164: का पुनर्गुर्वी मूलापत्तिः॥ सामान्यतस्तु तत्रोक्तं। सचेदुपाले etc.

[5] The portion marked *a* - *b* appears in the *Śikṣā*., p. 164 with the undernoted variant readings.

बोधिसत्त्वो [3] [गङ्गान]दीवालिकासमा रागसंप्रयुक्ता[1] आपत्तीरापद्येत याश्चैकां द्वेषसंप्रयुक्तामापत्तिमापद्येत बोधिसत्त्वयानं प्रमाणीकृत्येयं[2] ता[भ्यो [4] गुरु]तरा आपत्तिर्येयं द्वेषप्रयुक्ता। तत् कस्माद्धेतोर्द्वेष उपाले[3] सत्त्वपरित्यागाय संवर्त्तते रागः सत्त्वसंग्रहाय संवर्त्तते इति। तत्रोपाले [5] [यः] क्लेशः सत्त्वसंग्रहाय संवर्त्तते तत्र बोधिसत्त्वस्य न छलं न भयम्। b यः क्लेशः सत्त्वपरित्यागाय संवर्त्तते तत्र बोधिसत्त्वस्य छलञ्च भय[ञ्च]। [6] अपि तूपाले उक्तं पूर्व्वमेव रागो [4]बन्धविरागोऽल्पसावद्यो द्वेषः क्षिप्रविरागो महासावद्यः। तत्रोपाले यो बन्धविरागोऽल्पसावद्यः संक्लेशः [[5]..........]

Leaf 9b [1] बोधिसत्त्वस्य। यः क्षिप्रविरागो[6] महासावद्यः क्लेशः स[7] बोधिसत्त्वस्य स्वप्नान्तरगतस्यापि नैव युक्तः। तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले c बोधिसत्त्वानां[8] याः का[2] [श्चिद् रा]गसंप्रयुक्ता आपत्तयः सर्व्वास्ता अनापत्तय इति धारय। तत्रोपाले येऽनुपायकुशला बोधिसत्त्वास्ते रागसंप्रयुक्ताभ्य आप[त्तिभ्यो [3] वि]भ्यति न द्वेष-

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[1] *Śikṣā.*, p. 164—वालिकोपमा रागप्रतिसंयुक्ता।

[2] *Ibid.* कृत्य॥ पे॥ इयं।

[3] *Ibid.* संयुक्ता। तत् कस्य हेतोः। योऽयं द्वेष उपाले।

[4] I was feeling tempted to read it as *dandha* as opposed to *kṣipra*, but as the Chinese translation supports the reading *bandha*, I have retained it.

[5] नायुक्तः स may supply the sense here.

[6] Ms. यः क्षप्रत्तिरागो।

[7] Ms. षा।

[8] *Śikṣā.*, p. 164 omits the portion marked *b* - *c* by putting पे।

संप्रयुक्ताभ्यः। ये पुनरुपायकुशला बोधिसत्त्वास्ते द्वेषसंप्रयुक्ताभ्य आपत्तिभ्यो
[4]
बिभ्यति न रागसंप्रयुक्ताभ्यः। अथ [खलु त]स्यामेव पर्षदि मञ्जुश्रीकुमारभूतः
सन्निपतितोऽभूत्। स निषण्णः भगवन्तमेतदवोचत्। अत्यन्तविनीतानां भगवन्
[5]
सर्व्वधर्म्माणां [बोधाय] विनयः। एवमुक्ते भगवान् मञ्जुश्रियं कुमारभूतमेतद-
वोचत्। सचेन्मञ्जुश्रीर्ब्बालपृथग्जनाऽत्यन्तविनीतान् सर्व्वधर्म्मान् जानीयु-
[6]
[स्तदपि] न भूयस्तथागतो विनयः प्रज्ञप्येत। सत्त्वा न प्रीणन्ति[1] तस्मात् तथा-
गतोऽत्यन्तविनीतानां सर्व्वधर्म्माणां बोधाय विनयं प्रज्ञपयत्यनुपूर्वेणेति योनिशमु-
[1]
Leaf 10a पादाय ॥ ० ॥ इति बोधिसत्त्वप्रातिमोक्षः ॥ ० ॥

Here ends this book, and another commences. The scribe wrote only on one side of this leaf and then probably found out that it was a different book altogether. A photoprint of the leaf is attached hereto. I am giving below the reading as far as it has been possible for me to read, hoping that it will give clue to some other manuscript.

नमो बुद्धाय ॥ बोधिचित्तविवरणं वक्ष्ये ॥ चित्तविठपिताः सर्व्वधर्म्मा
[2]
इत्युक्तं भगवता। देवताविच्चित्तं निरुध्यते। किं स्वभावमिति। आह। सर्व्व-
भावविगतं स्कन्धधात्वायतनग्राह्यग्राहकवर्ज्जितं धर्म्मनैरात्म्यसमतया [...]
[3]
चित्तमाद्यनुत्पन्नं शून्यतास्वभावमिति। कोऽस्य वचनस्यार्थः सर्व्वभावविगत-
[4]
मिति। भावशब्देन आत्मादय उच्यन्ते। एतदुक्ते ब्रुवति[...]आत्मासत्त्वजीव-
जन्तुपोषपुरुषपुद्गलमनुजमानवकारकवेदकादिस्वभावं तच्चित्तं न भवति। किं

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[1] Ms. प्रोनन्ति

[5]

कारणम् । तेषामेवमादी[...]असंविद्यमानक्रियालक्षणत्वात् । एवं तावदात्मादयो भावा न विद्यन्ते प्रागेव तत्स्वभावं चित्तमिति । अतः सर्व्वभावविगतं

[6]

[...]तेन स्वभावं चित्तं भवतीत्याह । स्कन्धधात्वायतनग्राह्यग्राहकवर्जितं भवति ॥ स्वभावचित्तं भवति ॥[...............].

NALINAKSHA DUTT

The First Sākā of Cītoḍ

Tradition informs us that Cītoḍ, the mediæval capital of the Rajput principality of Mevāḍ, was sacked by its Moslem enemies 'three and a half times.' In 1567, the Mughal Emperor Akbar captured this stronghold after a brief investment which was accompanied by circumstances unhappily not experienced for the first time in the life of this citadel. While its brave defenders died fighting against the enemy, their women and children immolated themselves into the fire, in accordance with the age-long custom of *Juhar*, to save themselves from dishonour. A still worse fate awaited those that survived, for, Akbar ordered a general massacre of those that were left. This incident is the traditional 'third sākā' of Cītoḍ. Prior to this, in 1534-35, Bāhādur Shāh, Sultān of Guzrat, had also taken possession of the same fort, after a heroic resistance on the part of its defenders and the inevitable holocaust of men, women as well as children, which is therefore known as the 'second sākā.' Just a year before this, in the winter of 1533-34, the same Sultān had attacked the place which had, however, saved itself at the cost of some of its most prominent heroes, so that Rajputs came to look upon this as the half 'sākā.' Exactly 130 years before this incident, again, it had undergone the experience of another blockade and its concomitant slaughter of fighters and non-fighters at the hands of Sultān 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. This, being the first occasion when the Moslems were victorious over Cītoḍ, is regarded as the 'first Sākā.'[1]

Around the history of the first Moslem conquest of Cītoḍ has developed in course of centuries a mass of romance which till quite recent times was looked upon as sober history. Quite recently, Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurisankar Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, has tried to examine critically and unravel the truth underlying the traditions.[2] Two other writers, Messrs. Haldar[3] and

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[1] Col. Tod gives a slightly different version.

[2] *Udayapur Rājya Kā Itihāsa* in Hindi by Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, 1929 and 1930.

Qanungo[1] have followed in the footsteps of that eminent scholar and lent—the former fully and the latter partly—their support to his findings. But the matter cannot be said to have been settled beyond all doubt as the divergence in the views of Messrs. Ojha and Qanungo shows. Besides, an examination of the whole episode with reference to the original sources makes it clear that even in matters in which the above writers agree, they have not followed the earliest evidence faithfully.

Our earliest information of the incident is furnished by two Moslem writers—Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī. The former, 'the greatest of all the poets of India who had written in Persian,' died in 1325 A.D. Two of his works, so far as they are known now, supply information on the subject—the *Khazainul Futuh*[2] (also known as *Tārīkh-i-Ālāi*) written after 1310 A.D., and the *Ashikā*[3] (otherwise known as *Dewal Rāni*), written apparently after 1318 A.D. Ziyāuddīn Baranī finished his *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī*[4] about 1357 A.D. Both of them were contemporary writers, and what is more, Amīr Khusrau accompanied 'Alāuddīn Khiljī in the expedition concerned, while Ziyāuddīn Baranī, in the course of his narrative, says,[5] 'the events and affairs of the reign of Jalāluddīn (Khiljī) and from that period until the end of the work, all occurred under his own eyes and observation.' The accounts given by these two writers must therefore be accorded the foremost place of consideration in any attempt to reconstruct the history of this episode.

It is rather unfortunate that from the point of view of the Rajputs, the other and more important party in this affair, no account has so far been unearthed that can be placed in the same category with the above. The earliest Hindu version of the incident is that which can be gathered from the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti[6] of 1460 A.D. that is more than 150 years later. But, besides being the earliest Hindu reference, it deserves our serious consideration due to the fact that it was written at the instance of Rāṇā Kumbhā of Mevāḍ (1433-69) in whose time a careful investigation into the records of the state seems to have been made with a view to rectify the current inaccuracies in the early chronology of the family to which this prince himself belonged.

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[1] Vide the Bengali monthly magazine, *Prabāsī*, Phālgun, 1337 B.S.

[2] For a correct translation of the relevant parts of this work see the *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1929, pp. 369-373. Elliot's rendering is extremely misleading. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

[3] Ibid. Also, Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 550.

[4] Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 265. Also, *JASB.*, vol. XXXIX.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[6] (page 3). This is still unpublished. I secured a copy of it through

There are of course references to the same event in other and later works—such as the *Padumāvat*,[1] the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*[2], the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*,[3] the *Khyāta* of Muhaṇote Neṇsi,[4] the *Rājapraśasti*[5] and the *Annals of Rājasthāna*.[6] But it is admitted on all hands that these later records are based, more or less, upon traditions current in the time of the respective authors, and that, in the interval of 240 years, as in the case of the *Padumāvat*, and more, in that of others, popular imagination tampered considerably with the original account, so much so indeed, that, truth has been thrown far into the shade. In spite of this defect, no one will deny that there is a kernel of fact in these later accounts, and the problem, therefore, is, how much of these latter we are to rely upon as authentic. Obviously, we cannot accept any portion of the later stories as historical if it is not corroborated directly or indirectly by the evidence furnished by the contemporary writers such as Amīr Khusrau and Zīyāuddīn Baranī, or the earliest Hindu record on the episode, viz., the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti.

The vast difference between later tradition and early history will be evident to all, if a comparison be made between the version of the incident as contained in the *Annals of Rājasthāna* and that of the same as gathered from the epigraphic records which are contemporary, or nearly so, of the event they deal with. Fortunately, since Col. Tod wrote nearly a century ago, Indian epigraphy has made considerable progress and it is no longer possible to fall into the errors to which Tod was misled by the uncritical annals on which

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the courtesy of Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur. The relevant verses are also quoted in the footnotes at pages 180, 81 of Ojha's *Udayapur Rājya Kā Itihāsa*,

[1] Written in 1540 A. D.

[2] About 1590 A.D.

[3] About 1612 A.D.

[4] C. 1650 A.D.

[5] Composed about 1675 A.D.

[6] 1829-32 A.D.

he relied. Nobody will now maintain with Tod that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha, a minor, was the Rāṇā of Mevāḍ, and Bhīmasiṃha his uncle, regent, at the time when 'Alāuddīn Khiljī attacked Cītoḍ. It has now been definitely established with the help of inscriptions, supported by records earlier than the annals on which Tod relied that Samarasiṃha (1273[1]-1302[2]) died leaving the state to his son Ratnasiṃha in whose reign the invasion of 'Alāuddīn took place.

Even the circumstances that induced 'Alāuddīn to undertake the Cītoḍ expedition have been misrepresented in the later records. Traditions current in Tod's time and even as early as the middle of the sixteenth century[3] attribute it to 'Alāuddīn's desire to secure Padminī, reports of whose extraordinary beauty had reached the ears of the Sultān. But, it should be noted that the contemporary writers like Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī do not refer to any such consideration as having at all influenced the determination of 'Alāuddīn. It is possible to argue that *argumentum ex silentio* is no conclusive proof. There is, however, independent evidence to show that other and contradictory causes prompted 'Alāuddīn to undertake the expedition. Ziyāuddīn Baranī mentions that some time in 1297 A.D., the Sultān urged on by his ambition of world conquest sought the advice of his Kotwāl when the latter replied that the conquest of Hindusthan, 'of such places as Ranthambhor, Citor, Canderi, Malwa, Dhar, and Ujjain' 'ought to receive attention before all others.'[4] It is clear that the idea of the conquest of Cītoḍ had been formed more than five years before the expedition took place, and, as we know from the inscriptions, at a time when Samarasiṃha, father of Ratnasiṃha, was ruling over the principality. This precludes the possibility of the Padminī episode as having effected 'Alāuddīn's determination which is stated by this contemporary writer to have been actuated solely by his overwhelming ambition.

The Sultān did not sleep over his scheme of conquest. By the year 1302, the whole of North India, except Mevāḍ acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultān and that state itself was surrounded by a ring of states subject to his authority when one by one Malwa, Canderi, Marwar, Guzrat, Jalor, Nagor etc. had been conquered. The Sultān was now casting his ambitious looks upon the virgin lands of South India. Here, it must have been apparent to him that before his army could be sent to that quarter, Mevāḍ, which had so long defied attacks, must be crushed lest it afforded to others the example of defiance and created troubles in the rear of his army. Accordingly, in 1303, 'Alāuddīn, says Firishta,[1] 'sent an army by way of Bengal to reduce Warungole while he himself marched towards Chittoor.'

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[1] Cirwā Inscription of Guhila Samarasiṃha, Vienna Oriental Journal, 1907.

[2] Unpublished Cītoḍ inscription quoted by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his work. Vide p. 178, fn. 1.

[3] The *Padumāvat* and the *Āīn-i-Akbari*.

[4] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī*. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 171; also, *JASB*., vol. XXXVIII, p. 207.

Moreover, the rulers of Mevāḍ seem to have furnished him with causes of grievance. While the Rajput states were crumbling before 'Alāuddīn's attacks, refugees from them as well as other refractory subjects sought shelter at Citoḍ which still remained independent. Thus, a tradition preserved by the bards of Rajputana mentions that after the capture of Ranthambhor by 'Alāuddīn, the son of the Hindu Rājā of that place fled for protection to Mevāḍ.[2]

Thus ambition was primarily responsible for the expedition. It is possible that political necessity and the desire of crushing a party which gave shelter to his enemies might also have induced 'Alāuddīn to make up his determination.

Having thus resolved on the conquest of Cītoḍ, the Sultān started with his army from Delhi on January 28, 1303, and after some time reached 'the confines of Cītoḍ'. The imperial pavilion was pitched up in that territory between the two rivers', probably the Berach and the Gambhīrī.[1] The fort itself stood on the further side of the latter river. It is clear that the rivers presented no obstacles to the invading army, for, Amīr Khusrau clearly indicates that both of them were 'fordable'—it being the end of the winter. 'Alāuddīn now sent 'the two wings of the army which were ordered to pitch their tents on the two sides of the fort.'

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[1] Briggs, *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol. I, p. 353.

[2] *Mahārāṇāyaśaprakāśa*, pp. 14, 15. The collector and editor of these old bardic poems regarding the rulers of Mevāḍ is unwilling to accept the accuracy of the information contained in the piece referred to. But there is no reason to discredit it. On one occasion in reply to 'Alāuddīn Khiljī's question, what gratitude would he evince if the King should command his wounds to be immediately healed to a rebel Mughal who had been captured after the fall of Ranthambhor, the Sultān was told, 'I will put you to death and raise the son of Hammir Deo to the throne'. This shows that Hammir Deo's son was still alive and apparently had taken shelter somewhere, most likely at Cītoḍ according to the tradition. *JIH.*, 1929, p. 365 n.

The first plan of the Sultān was clearly to overpower the defence and wrest the place by direct attack. This policy was persisted in for two months without success. 'For two months' says Amīr Khusrau, who accompained the expedition, 'the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher.' The strength of the fort and the gallant defence offered by the garrison evoked the praise of this eye-witness of the incident. 'Wonderful was the fort which even hailstones were unable to strike'. Allowing one month for the march of the army from Delhi to Cītoḍ and two months for the unsuccessful direct assault, we may assume that the first stage of the operations was over by the end of April, 1303.

The failure of the direct attack led 'Alāuddīn to revise his policy and adopt a new plan which consisted in a regular investment of the place. Catapults were raised so that stones and other missiles might be thrown at the besieged. No detailed account of the progress of the siege during the last four months is, however, given in the *Khazainul Futuh*. Amīr Khusrau after referring to the construction of the catapults says abruptly that on August 26, 1303, the Sultān accompanied by the author 'went into the fort'. 'It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill. The Rai struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate ; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword'.[2]

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[1] The quotations, except where otherwise stated, are all taken from the *Khazainul Futuh*, for which see the *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369ff.

[2] Sir H. Elliot puts it as 'the Rai *fled, but afterwards surrendered himself*, and was secured against the lightning of the scimitar'. The original has been entirely misunderstood. Ojha, having followed the inaccurate translation by Elliot, has fallen into a great blunder as is shown later on. Messrs. Haldar and Qanungo have only reiterated Ojha's mistake.

'On the day the Rai sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the swords, the great Emperor was still crimson with rage. But though the Rai was a rebel', 'royal mercy' was conferred upon him. 'The storm of the emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a Hindu was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.'

Although the name of the Rāya who surrendered to 'Alāuddīn is not mentioned by Amīr Khusrau, it will be clear from what follows that he was none other than the ruling prince Ratnasiṃha. The *Khazainul Futuh* clearly indicates that the person who surrendered was the Rāya or ruler of Cītoḍ who had been defending himself against 'Alāuddīn. Now, all our relevant authorities agree in saying that the hostilities commenced when Ratnasiṃha was the ruling prince and that they continued till the time of Lakṣmaṇasiṃha who maintained the defence of the fort after Ratnasiṃha. Apparently, therefore, the person who surrendered must have been either of these two princes. But since the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti distinctly states that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha died along with seven of his sons at the hands of the Moslems, it must have been the latter who tendered his submission to 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. Curiously enough, while the above inscription applies the clause 'departed for heaven' to indicate the termination of Lakṣmaṇasiṃha's career, regarding Ratnasiṃha the same authority uses the phrase '*tasmin gate*,' which should therefore be understood in the literal sense of 'after he had gone' and *not* 'after he had died.'[1]

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[1] Ojha has translated the words '*tasmin gate*' as 'after he had died,' and Haldar and Qanungo have accepted his translation. Although in inscriptions the verb 'gam' is sometimes used in the sense of 'to die,' yet, under the circumstances mentioned above, it must be taken to have been used in the literal sense. Ojha seems to have been misled by the incorrect translation of the *Khazainul Futuh* by Elliot. Qanungo, following Ojha, opines that the Rāya who fled (?) was Ajayasiṃha, who alone of the several sons of Lakṣamaṇasiṃha is said to have escaped the sack of Cītoḍ, and, supports his contention by saying that Amīr Khusrau must have committed a mistake. But are we justified in finding fault with the evidence of the contemporary writer in the absence of other stronger

But here we are faced with a great difficulty. In Amīr Khusrau's version of the story, the Rāya (who, as we have just seen, was Ratnasiṃha) surrendered, after the Sultān had 'appeared on the summit of the hill,' that is to say, after the fort had been practically won. But, the inscription of 1460 clearly indicates that even after the departure of Ratnasiṃha, Lakṣmaṇasiṃha maintained the defence and that he died fighting against the Moslems; after which, presumably the fort was captured. Thus the chronology of the events that took place in Citoḍ might appear to be differently given in the two records. There is however no real difficulty in reconciling the two versions.

We must remember that Amīr Khusrau wrote his *Khazainul Futuh* at least seven years (if not more) after the incident and it is only reasonable to infer that when he wrote he did so from his memory. It is very likely, therefore, that though all the facts are there, yet, writing from his memory, he failed to observe the exact chronological sequence of the events. Hence, the surrender of Ratnasiṃha which really took place *during the course of the siege* is inadvertently put as having taken place after the capture of the fort itself. That although a contemporary writer, such mistakes were not only possible but actually committed by him will be clear from a comparison between the account of the conquest of Cītoḍ as given in the *Khazainul Futuh* and that in his other work, namely, the *Dewal Rānī* or the *Ashikā*. In the latter work[1] the author says, 'the Emperor did not waste much time; the fort was reduced in *two* months,' whereas in the former we are told that it took him at least *six* months to capture the fort.[2]

Besides, there is evidence in the *Khazainul Futuh* itself to show that there was a confusion of chronology in Amīr Khusrau's mind. The Rāya is said to have 'flown' 'towards the imperial pavilion,' after 'springing out of the stone-gate'. The reference to the *imperial pavilion* clearly points to the camp from which Alāuddīn was directing the blockade. Again, we are also told that the Rāya himself was pardoned,

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reasons? As pointed above, the Rāya who surrendered was the person who led the hostilities against the Sultān.

[1] *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, p. 372, f.n. 2; Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 550.

[2] The Sultān started on his expedition on Monday, the 8th Jamādussāni, 702 A.H. (January 28, 1303) and captured it on Monday, 11 Muharram, 703 A. H. (August 26, 1303).

but the other rebels, 'thirty thousand in number' (who must have been the Rāya's followers), were ordered to be put to the sword. To accept this version of the story is to be drawn into the rather illogical conclusion, viz., that the arch-culprit secured pardon but the rank and file of his followers were punished.'[1]

On the above considerations, it is clear that we must rearrange the chronology of the expedition as it is recounted in the *Khazainul Futuh*. Otherwise, we cannot possibly explain the inconsistencies of Amīr Khusrau himself and reconcile the Hindu version of the story with that of the Moslem.

The most probable account of the operations would therefore be as follows. When attacks had failed, 'Alāuddīn, by the end of April 1303, ordered the place to be put under blockade. Catapults were accordingly raised. This new development dismayed Ratnasiṃha, the ruling prince, and coming 'out of the stone-gate', he 'flew towards the Imperial pavilion' and surrendered himself to the Sultān. This of course meant submission of that Rajput prince and, consequently, a cessation of hostilities. That there was a temporary cessation of hostilities is also indicated by Amīr Khusrau. After describing the futile attacks of the first two months, the author says: 'Nevertheless......the fort......would have bowed to the ground at the strokes of the Maghrabi stones. But Jesus from Baitul Ma'mār sent the good news of the building of Mohammad's faith; consequently, the stones.. ......remained intact.'

The learned translator of the above piece explains it as follows:

'Though the attack sword in hand had failed, it still lay in 'Alāuddīn's power to knock down the fort with his Maghrabis. But he refrained from the step owing to a spiritual message that the building would turn Muslim later'.

This truce following upon the surrender of Ratnasiṃha no doubt implies the commencement of negotiations for a lasting peace. What the terms, dictated by 'Alāuddīn to his erstwhile foe, were, contemporary evidence does not, it must be admitted, tell us distinctly. But the inscription of 1460 A.D. throws an interesting clue which has been entirely overlooked by Ojha (and, following him, Haldar and Qanungo). While mentioning that after Ratnasiṃha had departed (surrendered), Lakṣmaṇasiṃha of the Khumāṇa family maintained the citadal, the inscription relates the reason, namely that 'considerate men do not abandon family honour when it is forsaken by cowards'.[1] Clearly enough, therefore, Ratnasiṃha had done something for which one of his successors on the throne of Mevāḍ could find no better epithet than 'coward' to be applied to him. Besides, he is said to have distinctly thrown away the 'family prestige' which was held so dear by the Rajputs. No doubt his surrender to the enemy earned him a notoriety, but the very strong epithets used indicate that he had done something much more heinous than mere surrender to the enemy in face of great difficulties.

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[1] As will be shown later, what really took place seems to have been this. The garrison continued to withstand Alāuddīn even after the surrender of Ratnasiṃha. Hence the Sultān's anger was aroused and he passed a general order for their slaughter after the capture of the place.

Here the question necessarily suggests itself, is it possible to find out from our records any idea of the nefarious action which brought upon him this lasting opprobrium ? I think it is possible to do so. The *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā* says[2] :—

"After the Rājā had been in jail for some time, it came to the Emperor's ears that among the Rājā's women there was one Padminī, a woman of fine stature, with dark eyes and moonlike face, and adorned with all the accomplishments of beauty. The Emperor sent the Rājā a message that his release would depend on his presenting her (to the Sultān). The Rājā consented and sent messengers.........But the Rājā's relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him ; he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead without *becoming notorious for his dishonour*".

Neither does Ferishtā's account stand alone ; for a critical examination of the *Khazainul Futuh* shows that there is a distinct echo of the siege of Cītoḍ, after the surrender of Ratnasiṃha, being persisted in on account of a woman, possibly Padminī. Amīr Khusrau observes :[1]

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[1] Kulasthitiṃ kāpuruṣair vimuktāṃ na jātu dhīrāḥ puruṣās tyajanti—Verse 177. See Ojha, vol. I, p. 180, f.n. 2.

[2] For a corrected translation of the piece in question, see *J.I.H.*, 1929, p. 372 f. n.

"The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba".

Here 'Alāuddīn is compared with Solomon and his attack on Cītoḍ, with Solomon's attempt on Seba. Going further on, Amīr Khusrau compares himself with the bird 'hudhud' which formed one of the vast retinue of Solomon.

This analogy, coming as it does from the pen of Amīr Khusrau, the most learned of the Indian poets, must be taken to be pregnant with significance for a clear appreciation of which the reference should be closely followed.

The story[2] relates how Solomon, son of David, set out in an expedition accompanied by a vast retinue including soldiers, animals and birds of which 'hudhud' was one. While he was encamped near a desert, he missed the 'hudhud' and declared that he would punish it severely unless the bird could explain his absence satisfactorily. 'Hudhud'[3] appeared immediately and informed that he brought in the news of the land of Seba and its queen Balquis who worshipped the Sun. Solomon at once sent 'hudhud' with a letter asking Balquis to submit to himself. She assembled her advisers and sent an envoy with presents to Solomon who, however, declared that he would not be satisfied with anything else than the personal submission of Balquis.

The analogy between 'Alāuddīn's operations against Cītoḍ and Solomon's expedition against the land of Seba would be justifiable only if Balquis of Seba had a prototype in Cītoḍ. Apparently, therefore, Amīr Khusrau implies that 'Alāuddīn insisted on the surrender of a woman, possibly Padminī, of the ruling family at

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[1] Here it is necessary to remember what Elliot writes about the mode of composition of the book in question. 'The style in which it is composed is, for the most part, difficult as the whole is constructed of a series of fanciful analogies...But we can forgive that for the solid information we are occasionally able to extract from it." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

[2] Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, *sub voce* Solomon, pp. 601 ff.

[3] Amīr Khusrau's comparison of himself with the bird 'hudhud' apparently took, in the later romantic accounts, the shape of Hīrāman Tota.

Cītoḍ. What, it may be asked, was the real desire behind this demand for the surrender of Padminī? Was it due to the lustful desire of 'Alāuddīn or anything else? No definite answers are possible. But the balance of the evidence at our disposal would seem to attribute this demand to a political motive. We have seen already that the expedition was launched with the object of bringing Mevāḍ under the subjection of Delhi and that, in origin, it had nothing to do with 'Alāuddīn's desire to secure Padminī. From this point of view, the Sultān's purpose was virtually achieved when Ratnasiṃha submitted to him. But at this stage the situation was again clouded by 'Alāuddīn who brought in the question of Padminī in the course of the negotiations with that Rajput prince. It is possible that thereby 'Alāuddīn aimed at humiliating this arrogant Rajput state which had so long defied the Sultān of Delhi.[1]

Whatever may have been the motive, it is almost sure that 'Alāuddīn's demand which was forwarded to the besieged through Ratnasiṃha, now a prisoner in the Sultān's hands, was refused by the latter. Thereupon the truce came to an end and hostilities were resumed.

Meanwhile, 'Lakṣmanasiṃha of the Khumāna family' had succeeded or been raised to the throne of the baleagured city after the withdrawl of Ratnasiṃha.[2] The new ruler continued to uphold the

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[1] An examination of Akbar's relationship with the Rajput princes shows that this Mughal Emperor insisted upon the Rajput families which accepted submission to his authority sending a bride to the imperial harem. Did 'Alāuddīn anticipate Akbar's policy?

[2] Kumbhalgaḍha Praśasti, verse, 177; vide *op. cit.*, p. 180 f.n. 2. Ojha is unwilling to accept the view that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha was raised to the throne. But the epithet 'Nṛpa' applied to him in the Praśasti in question on several occasions leaves no room for doubt (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928). Besides Ojha's chronology is open to serious objections on other considerations as well. It is admitted that Cītoḍ fell into Moslem hands in 1303 and continued to be ruled by officers on behalf of the Sultāns of Delhi for about 25 years. But what happened to the freedom-loving Guhilotes who had fled to the Aravallis and taken shelter there to save themselves from subjection to the Moslem power? Tradition tells us that they continued to defy the Moslem power under their leaders

'family prestige' and defy the renewed Moslem attacks. But all in vain. Along with seven of his sons, he died in the conflict and 'Alāuddīn captured the citadel. There can be no room for doubt that the stubborness of the defence, after the negotiations for peace had fallen through, infuriated the Sultān. This circumstance alone enables us to understand why, while 'royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon' Ratnasiṃha, 'all the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels,' so that, 'he ordered that wherever a Hindu was found he was to be cut down like dry grass,' and, 'owing to this stern order thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.

From what has been said above it will be clear that the causes of the expedition were ambition and political necessity. The operations which continued for more than six months passed through three distinct stages. The first stage was one of direct attack which was persisted in for two months, but failed to achieve the object. The intermediate stage consisted of preparation for siege followed by the surrender of Ratnasiṃha, the ruling prince, and negotiations for a permanent peace. This also failed owing to the Rajputs in the garrison not accepting the ignominous term of surrendering a princess of the royal family. The last stage of renewed attack culminated in the defeat of the defenders and the consequent occupation of the fort by 'Alāuddīn.

A comparison of the above account with what we gather from the later records affords an interesting study.

Thus, in the *Padumāvat*, the cause of the expedition is said to be the lustful demand for Padminī by 'Alāuddīn. The first stage of the attack continued for eight years. During the intermediate period, Ratnasiṃha is said to have been captured by the Moslems through a stratagem and his release was made conditional upon the surrender of Padminī which, of course, was refused. 'Alāuddīn marched off with his prisoner to Delhi from which place he was rescued by a

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Ajayasiṃha, son of Lakṣmaṇasiṃha, and his nephew Hammīra. This is the most logical account we have and there is no reason to discredit it. Ojha's view would lead to the conclusion that there was an *interrugnum* in the Mevāḍ *gadi* after Lakṣmaṇasiṃha's death. But is it possible that people who were fighting for their independence were without any leader? Whoever that leader might have been was no doubt the lawful ruler of the clan.

counter-ruse adopted by the Rajputs only to die shortly at the hands of a personal enemy. 'Alāuddīn renewed his attack on Cītoḍ which was immediately captured.

In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* the cause is the same as in the *Padumāvat.* The first stage of futile attacks was followed by the capture of Ratnasiṃha as well as his rescue by the Rajputs as before. A further period of war followed till the fort was captured. No idea of the time spent in three stages of the expedition is given.[1]

Ferishtā does not explicitly state the reason but conveys the idea that the expedition was undertaken in pursuance with 'Alāuddīn's idea of conquest. After six months the fort is said to have been captured and Ratnasiṃha taken prisoner. In the following year, the Rajput prince whose release was made conditional upon the surrender of Padminī, was rescued by a stratagem.[2]

In the *Annals of Rājasthāna*, Padminī's beauty is said to have aroused the passion of 'Alāuddīn so that he invested the fort but to no effect. Thereupon, he played a stratagem and captured Bhīmasiṃha, the husband of Padminī and regent at Cītoḍ on behalf of his nephew, the minor ruler Lakṣmaṇasiṃha. The period of negotiations followed and the Rajputs rescued their leader by a counter stratagem. 'Alāuddīn pursued the Rajput prince and again invested Cītoḍ and after Lakṣmaṇasiṃha and his twelve sons had died in the conflict the fort was captured.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

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[1] A comparison of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* version with the *Padumāvat* will make clear that the former was indebted immensely to the latter. In fact, Abul Fazal's reference to 'ancient chroniclers' from whom he took the story probably points to the same conclusion, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 269.

[2] Firishtā seems to have followed Amīr Khusrau in his account.

Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti: the Problem of their Identity

In Canto VII of the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* of *pseudo*-Mādhava it is recorded that the famous Maṇḍanamiśra had a second name Viśvarūpa and yet a third "vulgar" name Umbeka and after his conversion by Śaṅkara came to be known as Sureśvara. This tradition has been generally accepted by modern scholars who have been freely exchanging the two names Maṇḍana and Sureśvara for a long time past. Credit is due to Prof. Hiriyanna of Mysore who disputed the identity for the first time in the J.R.A.S., 1923 (pp. 259-263), almost simultaneously, it seems, with Dr. Jha's declaration that "there are no reasons for disputing its historical foundation" (Intr. to *Bhāvanāviveka*, pt. II, 1923). Prof. Hiriyanna notes three points of doctrinal divergence between the two great thinkers. Before we discuss them it is necessary to ascertain the authorship of one important work on the Vedānta, viz., the *Brahmasiddhi* which has not yet seen the light inspite of the assurances of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri (Proc. of the 3rd Orien. Conf. at Madras, p. 480). While eagerly awaiting the publication of this important work, we may be pardoned for offering the following notes on the external evidence regarding its authorship. It is well known that after his conversion by Śaṅkara, Sureśvara wrote a number of works on the *Vedānta*—the five *Vārtikas* and the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*; but the *Brahmasiddhi* is not one of them (*Śaṅkara-digvijaya*, XIII. 63). On the other hand, Citsukhamuni, who quotes Sureśvara and Maṇḍana separately (vide Citsukhī, Comy., Nirn. ed., pp. 9, 112 & 340 for Sureśvarācārya, and pp. 155, 164ff. for Maṇḍanamiśra), ascribes the *Brahmasiddhi* to Maṇḍanamiśra (p. 140). In his commentary on the Nyāyamakaranda there are frequent references to Maṇḍanamiśra or the Brahmasiddhi-kāra (pp. 35, 52, 74-5, 225, 290, etc.) but none to Sureśvara. Vidhiviveka is professedly a work of Maṇḍana, and Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary thereon refers to the *Brahmasiddhi* as apparently a work of the same *sampradāya* (pp. 80, 281) and it is known that Vācaspati wrote a commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi*. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that Maṇḍana and not Sureśvara was the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*.

(*i*) The first point of difference between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara noted by Prof. Hiriyanna is that according to Maṇḍana *āśraya* (seat) of *avidyā* is the Jīva (cf. Nyāyamakaranda, p. 312 "Brahmasiddhikāramatam utthāpayati" : also Citsukhī, pp. 361-2 (comy.)—"maṇḍanamiśroktim anuvadati") ; while according to Sureśvara and most other followers of Śaṅkara, it is Brahma itself (Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, pp. 157-162). Prof. Hiriyanna is, however, wrong in his second point. For, *avidyā-nivṛtti*, according to Maṇḍana also, is identical with Brahma itself. Thus in the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (chap. IV) we read—"keyam avidyā-nivṛttiḥ, brahmaiveti Brahmasiddhi-kārāḥ". In the Citsukhī (p. 381) there is the actual quotation of the *Brahmasiddhi* ("vidyaiva vādvayā śāntā tadastamaya ucyate") which identifies avidyā-nivṛtti with Brahma-jñāna. Either way, it is not according to Maṇḍana an abhāva and Prof. Hiriyanna is misled by quite a modern work on the point.

(*ii*) The second point of difference, therefore, is that Sureśvara maintains immediate knowledge of Brahma acquired directly through verbal statements (śabdasya aparokṣa-jñāna-janakatā : cf. Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, chap. III, p. 280). Among the opponents of the theory, the commentator on the Citsukhī (p. 32) expressly mentions "Maṇḍanamiśra-prabhṛtayaḥ", whose theory is explained by the analogy of ratnatattvādhigama ('upadeśasahitaṃ pratyakṣam eva sākṣātkārahetuḥ na kevalaḥśabdaḥ'). We have given additional references on these two points to show that Prof. Hiriyanna is substantially correct when he opposes the current view about Maṇḍana's identity. Two other points of difference are noted below.

(*iii*) Śaṅkara and his host of followers generally favours *Ekajīvavāda*. In the Citsukhī (p. 375) this theory is discussed with reference to a passage of the *Iṣṭasiddhi-kāra* ('Brahmaiva svāvidyayā saṃsarati sva-vidyayā ca vimucyate', p. 363 ; 'iti ekavidyāpakṣe na kaścit doṣaḥ' p. 375 ; cf. *Vivaraṇa-prameyasaṅgraha*, p. 225). The original source of the theory is, however, clearly indicated in the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (Viz. ed., p. 20) where both Śaṅkara and Sureśvara are quoted ('Brahmaiva svāvidyayā &c. iti Bṛhadārṇyaka-bhāṣye pratipādanāt. rājasūnoḥ smṛtiprāptau vyādhabhāvo nivartate । tathaivam ātmano 'jñasya tattvam asyādi-vākyataḥ ॥ iti Vārtikokteś ca'). Against this universally accepted theory stands the *Nānājīvavāda* which is expressly identified with the names Maṇḍana and Vācaspati (Citsukhī, p. 380 : Comy. 'Maṇḍanamiśra-Vācaspatimiśra-matāvalambinaḥ'). This *vāda* has been partly quoted in the *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha* (p. 224) under the name of Brahmasiddhi-kāraḥ.

(*iv*) A set of Vedānta thinkers does not accept *Jīvanmukti.* In the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (p. 107), the theory is found to be opposed by Sarvajñātma-guravaḥ i.e. Sureśvara himself. As a matter of fact Sureśvara disproves the existence of avidyāleśa (the cause of jīvanmukti) in the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (chap. IV, p. 216 'avidyāyāḥ pradhvastattvan na kiñcid avaśiṣyate'). Against this *sadyomukti* of Sureśvara, the existence of *avidyāleśa* and *jīvanmukti* of Maṇḍanamiśra stands in bold opposition. For, in the Citsukhī-ṭīkā (p. 385) the explanation of avidyāleśa as a saṃskāra on the analogy of 'the continuity of fear etc. even after the snake is gone' is regarded as peculiar to Maṇḍanamiśra. This very analogy is referred to in the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (chap. IV, verse 60) as "aparaḥ sāmpradāyikaḥ". This is therefore a decisive point to show that Maṇḍana is not only different from Sureśvara but belongs to an (earlier) school of the Advaita-vedānta other than that of Śaṅkara.

This differentiation of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara happily derives 'orthodox' support from the recently published *Guruvaṃśa-kāvyaṃ* (Srirangam Ed.) where Śaṅkara met both Maṇḍana (Canto II, v. 47) and Viśvarūpa (Ib., vv. 50-60). Though the work was written only 3 or 4 generations ago its authenticity is greatly ensured by its being written under the auspices of the Sringeri Mutt and by the fact that the succession list of *Gurus* of the Sringeri Mutt given in this work substantially agrees with that given in a Tantrik work named *Gadyavallarī* written in 1435 Śaka (*Notices of Sans. Mss.*—R. L. Mitra, No. 2261).

II

The publication of the *Bhāvanāviveka*, a recognised work of Maṇḍana "renders another part of the tradition untenable, viz., the identity of Umbeka and Maṇḍana" (cf. Prof. K. Śāstrī : Proc. 3rd Or. Con., pp. 480-81). Umbeka in several places notes different readings in the text of Maṇḍana (cf. pp. 17, 28, 63, 77, 81 and 82) and attempts alternative interpretations of single passages (pp. 7 and 18). In one place he clearly disagrees with Maṇḍana (p. 92 'ato na vidmaḥ katham audāsinyavicchedaḥ karoter artha iti') and in another he adds an argument of his own in support of Maṇḍana and shows a peculiar humility in doing so by the interesting remark 'tad āstāṃ tāvad idaṃ bālabhāṣitaṃ' (p. 110). So, clearly, Umbeka was not identical with Maṇḍana.

A second tradition makes Umbeka one of the four pupils of Kumārila recorded in the following couplet—

'Umbekaḥ kārikāṃ vetti tantraṃ vetti Prabhākaraḥ ।
Vāmanas tūbhayaṃ vetti na kiñcidapi Revaṇaḥ ॥'

In one reading the third name is Maṇḍana who quotes Kumārila but seems to have little regard for him (Dr. Jha : Intr. to the *Bhāvanāviveka*, pt. II. p. 2). Thus Maṇḍana is found to criticise adversely a view of Kumārila without mentioning the latter's name in the *Bhāvanāviveka* (pp. 22-23, cf. *Tantravārtika*, p. 351). On the strength of a single passage in the *Śāstradīpikā* (on II. i. 1) Maṇḍana had been credited with the authorship of a commentary on the *Tantravārtika*. But the assumption proves to be wrong, as the passage refers to the *Bhāvanāviveka* (pp. 80-81). Umbeka's pupilage under Kumārila is amply supported by other evidences. His lost commentary on the *Ślokavārtika* is cited by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇa on the *Śāstradīpikā* several times. In the comy. on the Bhāvanāviveka also Kumārila is referred to as Bhaṭṭapāda (pp. 42, 75 and 92) and in one place Umbeka actually mentions him as his *Guru* (p. 43, cf. *Tantravārtika*, p. 351). Umbeka, therefore, on his own admission claims Kumārila as one of his teachers and this raises the question of his identity with Bhavabhūti. For, the late Mr. S. P. Pandit first announced the discovery of a Ms. of the *Mālatīmādhava*, ascribing the play to 'a pupil of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila' (Act III) and again to one 'Umbekācārya, a pupil of Kumārilasvāmin' (Act VI), though Bhavabhūti is also named as the author at the end. The authenticity of this unique Ms. is definitely supported by the independent evidence of a passage in the Citsukhī (J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 243). The comy. there clearly identified Umbeka with Bhavabhūti. But the identity though subsequently accepted by a large number of scholars is so unexpected that it is still generally regarded with suspicion. In the passage of the Citsukhī under discussion (p. 265) the great exponent of the Advaita school seeks to refute the logician's definition of 'verbal' testimony (viz. āptavākyaṃ) as wrongly extending to purely literary works of a (philosophical) authority (āpta), if there be any, and as a typical instance mentions Bhavabhūti's literary works, in a manner meant clearly to convince even his opponents. Bhavabhūti's credentails as a philosophical scholar must, therefore, have been of sufficient celebrity and value to be almost universally recognised even in Citsukha's times (middle of the 13th cent. A. D.). Citsukha's citation of a rare passage from Umbeka, i.e., Bhavabhūti himself in his rôle as a philosopher lends a peculiar grace to his argument instead of contradicting it. It is clear from Citsukha's manner of quoting Bhavabhūti that he has to be identified with a philosophical scholar of repute hence, it would be unsound to question his veracity without any positive evidence to the contrary. One scholar had contended (Modern Rev., May, 1924, p. 587) that Bhavabhūti betrays sympathy for Buddhism. This is hardly true. For, Kāmandakī is deliberately assigned to the rôle of a negotiator of marriage—a most un-Buddhistic function for a Buddhist nun and is found to quote a passage in favour of courtship before marriage (gītaś cāyam artho 'ṅgirasā 'yasyāṃ manascakṣusām anubandhas tasyām ṛddhiḥ, Act II). Similarly, the duty of warning a young husband with original quotations from the Kāmasūtra (Act VIII) is deliberately given to Kāmandakī's assistant Buddharakṣitā, a really Buddhist name. So, Bhavabhūti's feelings towards Buddhism cannot be mistaken.

Bhavabhūti was proud of his attainments and has left in the *Mālatīmādhava*, a magnificent bravado ('ye nāma kecit &c.') that earned for him a place among the few 'arrogant'(*uddhata*) poets of India (*Rasārṇavasudhākara* p. 268). The same spirit of pride and arrogance is also found in a passage of Umbeka's comy. to the *Ślokavārtika* (preserved by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇa on Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda, Chowkh. Ed. p. 82 'idam tu vārtikakārīyaṃ dūṣaṇaṃ samarthanañ ca sarvam evāluna-viśīrṇaṃ &c.") where after a most scathing criticism of the *Bhāṣyakāra* and the *Vārtikakāra*, his own teacher, he proudly concludes by reciting 'guror apy avaliptasya kāryākāryam ajānataḥ/ utpatha-pratipannasya parityāgo vidhīyate ||.'

III

The remaining factor of the tradition, viz., the identity of Umbeka (i.e. Bhavabhūti) and Viśvarūpa (i.e. Sureśvara) seems to have been left out of consideration by all scholars as apparently baseless. The publication of a commentary by Viśvarūpa on the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā* (Triv. Sans. Series), which seems to have escaped the attention of scholars, raises and answers this question in a most remarkable way. It appears from the learned introduction of the late Dr. Ganapati Sastri that quite a literature grew up over this commentary of Viśvarūpa named Bālakrīḍā, which was first commented upon by one Yatīśvara Vedātman, the sub-comy. being called the Vibhāvanā. This latter also came to be adorned with another sub-comy. (Yativyākhyā-ṭīkā—as the passage of the Vacanamālā seems to mean: Dr. Sastri gives a different meaning—the Ṭīkā being that on the original Bālakrīḍā). The second comy. on the Bālakrīḍā was the Amṛtasyandinī by Somayājin and yet a third was named Vacanamālā whose author is unknown. Dr. Sastri procured fragments of the last named work and another which he thinks to be same as the Vibhāvanā. The Vibhāvanā "salutes the original author Viśvarūpa" in these words:

"Yatprasādād ayaṃ loko dharma-mārga-sthitaḥ sukhī |
Bhavabhūti-Sureśākhyaṃ Viśvarūpaṃ praṇamya taṃ ||"

This means that the world is happy in the right path of virtue through the grace of Viśvarūpa, whose other names are Bhavabhūti and Sureśa, i.e., Sureśvara. The identity of the poet with the giant scholar Sureśvara is, once more, so unexpected that Dr. Sastri does not even suspect that the poet Bhavabhūti is meant here as it cannot but be, and attempts an impossible explanation of the word put before the name Sureśvara, indicating the devotion of the author towards Śiva' (p. iii). The 'name' (*ākhyā*) of Viśvarūpa was not certainly 'Bhavabhūtisureśa' but Bhavabhūti *and* Sureśa. This is the third independent evidence bearing on the question of the identity of the poet Bhavabhūti definitely supporting the two previous ones discussed before (i.e. the Mālatī. Ms. and the comy. on Citsukhī). The Bālakrīḍā bears in several respects the affinity of the author with Bhavabhūti. It is replete with quotations from Vedic texts, indicating his predilection towards the Veda as is also in evidence in the dramas. Bhavabhūti's Vedic scholarship is mainly responsible for that unique scene at the beginning of Act IV of the Uttaracarita where he attempts what must have been a bold challenge to the Brāhmaṇic aristocracy of his days by justifying in the language of ritual the taking of beef (by Vasiṣṭha). Similarly, the Bālakrīḍā alone among the host of Smṛti writers, seeks to justify *govadha* (cow-killing) in Srauta rites even though expressly prohibited in the Smṛti. Part of this interesting passage is given below for ready reference (*Bālakrīḍā*, vol. I, pp. 25-26) :—'na khalu smṛti-viruddhaṃ śrutyuktam api ādriyamāṇā dṛśyante | tathā hi govadhaṃ nānumanyante śrutyuktam api tadvidaḥ |………… maivaṃ, na khalu śiṣṭānāṃ kvacit smṛti-virodhataḥ | śrutyuktārthānanuṣṭhānaṃ dṛḍham-alpīyasām api ||…………smārto 'pi govadho' styarghyam arhayet prathamaṃ gavā ||' He repeats his opinion again in this connection on p. 115 below while commenting on the well-known line 'asvantaṃ lokavidviṣṭaṃ &c.' thus "lokavidviṣṭam sarvajanānabhyupagataṃ *govadhāditi* kecit. Tat tv ayuktaṃ, vidhānānarthakyāt &c." Under Yājn. I. 178 'Prāṇātyaye tathā śrāddhe &c.' the comment of Viśvarūpa is almost in the very words of Bhavabhūti : "Dvijaiḥ kāmyamānatvād dvijakāmyā atithipūjā, tayopanītaṃ *Mahokṣādi* bhakṣayato na doṣaḥ" (vol. I p. 126). It should be noted in this connection that the standard commentary Mitākṣarā and all later Smṛti works entirely differ in their interpretation here as in many other places. The commentary of Viśvarūpa is therefore of the greatest value as preserving a tradition on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti quite different from the existing one.

In his commentary on the Yatidharma-prakaraṇa of the *Prāyaścittādhyāya* Viśvarūpa indulges in philosophical speculations of a remarkable nature. There are quotations from previous writers one of which is traced to the Gauḍapāda-kārikās ('yathaikasmin etc.' p. 53). The other two quotations we are unable to trace (pp. 44 and 54 of vol. II). He proves himself yet free from the influence of Śaṅkara. We would refer to only one of his original passages (pp. 67-68 of vol. II) where he attempts a most curious compromise between the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta by reading into a well-known passage of the Śabara-bhāṣya (codanā hi bhūtaṃ &c.) the necessary authority of the Veda in Ātmajñāna also against all 'orthodox' Mīmāṃsā scholars. None of his speculations seem to have survived in later literature. The name of the commentary seems to suggest that it was written in his early life in a youthful but immature stage, proof of which is lying broadcast in his entire work. The following references found in this work to certain localities may furnish some clue to his own native place : (i) 'grāmayājako vaiśvadevika iti *Mālavānāṃ* prasiddhaḥ' p. 117 of vol. I, (ii) 'khañjarīṭākhyo dīrghapucchaḥ *pūrvadeśa*-prasiddhaḥ Ib. p. 122, (iii) gṛñjanaṃ palāṇḍu-sadṛśam *udīcyadeśa*-prasiddhaṃ' p. 123. These references do not conflict with the tradition recorded in the *Guruvaṃśakāvya* that the historic debate of of Śaṅkara and Viśvarūpa took place at Magadha (Canto II, vv. 43 & 50). This again does not conflict with the life history of the poet Bhavabhūti who was in the court of King Yaśovarman according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Yaśovarman's dominions included at least Western Magadha and in one of the inscriptions of the Pāla period (the Ghosrawa inscr. of the reign of Devapāla : ll. 9-10) there is a reference to a *Yaśovarma-pura* in Magadha, which must have been named after this monarch. Bhavabhūti's actual connection with Eastern India is also evident from an interesting reference in the Uttaracarita which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars. In Act IV King Janaka is stated to have left Mithila grieved by Sītā's exile and spent some years in practising penances in the hermitage of *Candradvīpa*. (Tathāsya katipaye saṃvatsarāś-*Candradvīpa*-tapovane tapastapyamānasya). Bhavabhūti was only slightly removed from the time of It-sing and there is no evidence that there was any place of that name elsewhere in India other than Candradvīpa (mentioned by It-sing) in Eastern Bengal. Candradvīpa must have been at that time a celebrated seat for Brāhmaṇic culture also to be selected by Bhavabhūti for Janaka's penance.

A reconstruction of the history of Bhavabhūti's life is now necessary in view of these numerous identifications. It would appear, on the strength of the Śaṅkara-vijaya and the Guruvaṃśakāvya, rejecting the Maṇḍana element in the former, that Viśvarūpa was the real name of this giant scholar and Umbeka was either his 'vulgar' name ('lokair abhihitasya') or was assumed in his rôle as a Mīmāṃsaka. Both these names, however, represent only the earlier part of his extraordinary career as the name Bālakrīḍā and exclamation like 'āstāṃ bālabhāṣitaṃ' would indicate. Bhavabhūti was the name assumed in his poetic achievements and this is supported by a well-known tradition that the name was given him after a happy use of the word 'bhavabhūti' in a verse composed by him just as in the case of Ghaṭakarpara. His conversion by Śaṅkara and taking *Sannyāsa* under the name of Sureśvara are well-known in history. According to the Guruvaṃśa-kāvya it was this Viśvarūpa and not Maṇḍana whom the goddess Sarasvatī cursed by Durvāsā wooed after assuming a human form under the name of Ubhayabhāratī. The commentary on the Kāvya cites this tradition under II. 46 and refers to a work named *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* for authority. One would be tempted to cite in support of this tradition the well-known verse in the Uttaracarita where the poet states that the goddess Sarasvatī attends him like a slave (yaṃ brahmāṇam iyaṃ devī Vāg vaśyevānuvartate'). The life-history of the great Maṇḍana becomes now almost an absolute blank ; he is described in the Śaṅkara-vijaya of *pseudo*-Ānandagiri as the sister's husband of Kumārila ('madbhaginībhartā'—Jib. Ed. p. 181). The problem of chronology involved in these identifications deserves to be treated in a separate paper.

Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya

Some Notes on Skanda-Kārttikeya

The earliest mention of Skanda is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (मृदितकषायाय तमसस्पारं दर्शयति भगवान् सनत्कुमारस्तं स्कन्द इति आचक्षते तं स्कन्द इति आचक्षते) where Sanatkumāra is identified with Skanda. In the Brāhmaṇic literature Sanatkumāra is a philosopher and is regarded as the son of Dharma and Ahiṃsā or of Brahman. In the Pāli literature Sanaṃkumāra is the Brahman himself.[1] In the *Dīgha Nikāya* Sanaṃkumāra is said to have uttered the verse which means that though the kṣatriyas take precedence among all those that trust in lineage, he that is perfect in wisdom takes precedence over all.[2] This hints that Sanatkumāra preferred wisdom to martial spirit. Sanatkumāra of the *Upaniṣad* is also a philosopher and teacher of Nārada.

But who was the Upaniṣadic Skanda ? Two answers are possible, viz., (i) this Skanda was either a philosopher deified or a divine being. or (ii) he was, according to the earliest Upaniṣads, the divine warrior. The writer of the *Chāndogya* might have identified the philosopher Sanatkumāra with the divine philosopher Skanda in order to increase the greatness of the former, if the latter had been a great "philosopher" god of that age. But Skanda as such is nowhere found in the early literature, on the other hand, he was characterised as the "warrior" god.[3] In the post-vedic literature and in the plastic representations, Skanda is depicted as a religious teacher. The *Mahābhārata*[4] ascribes to him the exposition of a *Dharma-rahasya* and in a few passages[5] calls him Sanatkumāra—the son of Brahman. The Purāṇic references of this kind are many. Even a plastic corroboration of it is found in a relief at Ellora where Skanda is represented as "*Śivadevasya deśikaṃ*," the teacher of Śiva (see the Āgamas).[6] But all these philosophic touches in the character of Skanda seem to be only secondary. In the Epics, the Purāṇas and later works, Skanda as the warrior god is given prominence. Hence, we may say that the philosophic touches given to his character in the later literature were secondary while the militaristic features of his character were primary, and that Skanda of the *Chāndogya* was not a "philosopher" god. The identification of Skanda with Sanatkumāra therefore remains unexplained.

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[1] *Dialogues of Buddha*, vol. II, p. 244.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 121.

[3] *Bhāgavadgītā*, x, 24.

[4] XIII, 134

[5] IX, 46, 96 ; XII, 37, 12

[6] Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part I, plates no. CV, p. 350 ; also vol. II, part II.

If in that early age Skanda was conceived as the "general" of the gods, then the reason why Sanatkumāra was identified with Skanda becomes somewhat explicable. In the Upaniṣads we find many kṣatriya chiefs teaching the secret knowledge of the Upaniṣads to the Brāhmaṇic sages. Thus in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the kṣatriya king Janaka-Vaideha teaches a Brāhmaṇa named Āśvatarāśvi Buḍila, and another king Ajātaśatru destroys the pride of the Brāhmaṇa Bālāki. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya* a kṣatriya king Pravahaṇa Jaivali is described as teaching the Brāhmaṇas the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth. In the *Chāndogya*, again, Aśvapati Kaikeya, a kṣatriya king, is seen to teach the doctrine of the universal soul to the five brāhmaṇas. In the *Kauṣītakī* another kṣatriya, Citra by name, teaches Śvetaketu, the son of Gautama. From all these facts it is not improbable to conclude that Sanatkumāra, whatever might have been his caste and function, was identified with a divine kṣatriya chief, furnishing another illustration to show kṣatriya influences in the formulation of the fundamental Upaniṣadic doctrines. Even if the kṣatriya references in the Upaniṣads be due to the brāhmaṇic policy of drawing kṣatriya sympathy,[1] our explanation stands good. Our evidences regarding the Upaniṣadic Skanda being the "warrior" god may not be conclusive, but the balance of probabilities seems to favour our suggestion. There is no special reason why this Skanda should be identified with the "warrior" god.[2]

Let us now take into consideration the circumstances that ushered in the conception of a divine general. Kings and generals of heaven are only prototypes of earthly kings and generals. In the Ṛg-vedic times the king was the general *par excellence*. The Senānī, the leader of the army, who appears in a few hymns of the Ṛg-veda, was a general appointed by the king to lead an expedition of too little importance to require his own intervention.[1] But with the growth of complexities the functions of the king and the general were being clearly distinguished and in the great Epic we read of generals being in charge of the king's army. A similar process went on in regard to the conception of heaven. In the Ṛg-vedic times Indra, the king of gods, was the war-god of the Aryans.[2] But slowly like the terrestrial king, he lost the position of being pre-eminently the Aryan war-god and in the Epics and the Purāṇas, came to be distinguished as Devarāja. So the necessity of a general was felt and the conception of Skanda was ushered in. Now as on the earth the functions of the king and the general were separated before the times of the Mahābhārata, it is only natural that the necessity for the conception of a divine general was felt at about that time. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] Senā is described as the wife of Indra, indicating thereby that Indra still held the army. The *Mahābhārata*[4] gives the story which says that Indra rescued Devasenā from the hand of a demon and subsequently gave her to Skanda in marriage. The story signifies the transference of generalship from Indra to Skanda. It seems not quite improbable, that the conception of the general god first arose among the kṣatriyas as early as the period of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. This accounts for the absence of the name of the god from the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, The Brāhmaṇas at first did not accept the innovation and went on with their own "general" Indra. Later on, probably with the increase of Kṣatriya influence, the conception of Skanda as the general obtained recognition in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

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[1] See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 495.

[2] See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

The next reference to Skanda is found in the *Gītā* and in the commentary of Pātañjali. In the *Gītā* Vāsudeva declares himself as सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः (he was Skanda among the generals). It is evident that Skanda had become by this time a figure of emulations. He was of as much celebrity among the warriors as Viṣṇu was among the Ādityas and Śaṅkara among the Rudras.[6] So it seems that he was holding his military position among the people from a time previous to the composition of the *Gītā*. The date of its composition is yet unsettled, some[1] ascribing to it a period earlier than the 4th century B.C. and others[2] a date in the 3rd century B.C. or even later. Whatever may be the correct date it is clear that Skanda was conceived as the divine general long before Vāsudeva sang his divine song.

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 95.

[2] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 62.

[3] III, 22, 7.

[4] Vanaparva, 221 and 222.

[5] X, 24.

[6] Bhagavad Gītā, X, 21 ; X, 23.

Patañjali writes[3] जोविकार्थे चापण्ये। अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति। किं कारणम् मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिता भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। यास्त्वेताः सम्प्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति। This clearly suggests that images of Skanda and Viśākha were very popular and were showed in public in Patañjali's time and some people used to earn their livelihood by this profession. *Bhāradvāja gṛhya sūtra* iii, 9 also mentions Skanda.

Taking all these evidencces from the *Upaniṣad*, the *Gītā*, Patañjali's commentary, etc. into consideration, it may be stated that the conception of Skanda came into existence before the invasion of Alexander.

Curiously enough the great general of heaven is often connected with infants and infant diseases. He is the lord of many uncouth figures who regulate the life of the infants. The *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* associates Skanda with fierce पारिषद्s, कुमारकs and कन्याs who destory even the fœtus.[4] In this Parva[5] also Skanda orders the Mātṛgaṇa belonging to his retinue to take under their care life of those people who are within sixteen years of age. This tradition is echoed in the *Suśruta* In the *Uttara Tantra* of the *Suśruta* II, which is assigned to the 2nd century A.D.[6], Skanda is described as the "divine general, the husband of Devasenā and the destroyer of the enemy of Devasenā".[7] But the divine general of the *Suśruta* is also connected with infant diseases.[8] So striking is the similarity between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Suśruta* in this respect that the name of the nine *grahas* of whom Skanda is the lord in the *Suśruta*[9] are the same as the *Pāriṣadas* of Skanda in the *Mahābhārata*.[10]

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[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. p. 13.

[2] Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, p. 438 and footnote (i).

[3] Keilhorn's edition, vol. II, p, 429.

[4] *Mbh.*, 227, 1-2.

[5] *Mbh.*, 229, 22

[6] Hoernle, *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, p. 10

[7] XXVIII, 5.

[8] XXVII, 3.

[9] *Uttara Tantra*, xxvii.

[10] III. 129, 25-31.

In course of the excavation of some mounds at Mathurā a stone-slab was found on the obverse of which is a goat-headed deity curved in relief labelled '*Bhagavā Nemeso*' in Brāhmi characters of the Saka-kushana period ; to the right are three standing female figures and a male child.[1] It has been suggested by Bühler[2] that the relief bears the legend described in the *Kalpasūtra* of the transfer of the fœtus of Mahāvīra from Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā by Harinegamesi. So the word Nemeso is nothing but a variant of Harinegamesi of the *Kalpasūtra*, Naigamesi of the *Nemināthacarita* and Negamesa of the Brāhmaṇical sūtra literature. That he is none but the divine general Skanda may be inferred from the fact that Harinegamesi of the *Kalpasūtra* is not only the transferer of the fœtus but also the divine commander of infantry.[3] Skanda of the *Mahābhārata*[4] like Harinegamesi of the relief is goat-headed (chāgamukha). The Epic also has *Naigameya* as a title of Skanda. So it seems in all probabilities that *Nemeso* of the Mathurā relief is only another variant of *Naigameya* of the Epic i.e., is another name of Skanda. This Mathurā inscription is dated by European scholars[5] from about the beginning of the Christian era or earlier. Skanda's connection with the infants may be taken back still earlier. In the *Pāraskaragṛhya-sūtra*[6] it is said in connection with the Medhājanana and Āyuṣya ceremonies that "Kumāra attacks the boy newly born". The Mahāsena of the *Mānavagṛhya sūtra* who with others is referred to as the remover of possession by evil spirits is none but Skanda.[7] These facts combine to show that Skanda-Kārttikeya's connection with infant diseases and other malevolent spirits was established before the Christian era. The process how the great general of heaven came to be associated with such evil things is not far to seek. Rudra in the *Ṛg-veda* was believed to cause diseases. He is invoked to keep all free from illness[8] and he is prayed not to afflict children with diseases.[9] In the subsequent literature Rudra became predominantly

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[1] Smith, *Antiquities of Mathurā*, plate no. xviii, p. 25.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 314.

[3] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 2, 22.

[4] III, 225, 29.

[5] Smith, *Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 25.

[6] 1, 16, 24 ; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 242.

[7] 11, 14 ; Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[8] *Rv.* 1, 114, 1.

[9] *Rv.* viii, 462.

Śiva and he was slowly being raised to the position of the supreme God. A god was therefore sought out and Skanda the divine general whose another name was Kumāra and who was the son of Rudra was thought to be the fittest one to be given the charge of the infants (Kumāras) and diseases. It should be noted that in the *Saṃhitās* and the *Sūtras*[1] Rudra is called Dhūrta which is also a title of Skanda in the Atharva-veda Pariśiṣṭa, XX.

It may be argued that Skanda, Kumāra, Mahāsena and Viśākha were different gods originally. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks[2] that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena were in older days names of four different gods. His conclusion is based on (1) Patañjali's reference to both Skanda and Viśākha at the same time, (2) mention of the names of Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Māhasena in the Huviska coins each with a figure corresponding to the names and (3) Amarasiṃha's mention of only one of the former four names in each of the four lines of his two verses concerning Kārttikeya. Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments, however, do not seem to be conclusive. Mahāsena seems originally to have been only an attribute of the Senānī Skanda. Kumāra might have been originally a different god. But in that case also there is no evidence to show that he was a separate god till the time of the Huviska coins. The coins, as will be shown later on, have been wrongly interpreted. In the Epics, Skanda and Kumāra are identical.[3] The earliest reference to Kumāra is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[4] where Kumāra is called the ninth form of Agni as well as the son of Agni Gṛhapati. Skanda also was the son of Agni and he was in a very early age identified with Sanatkumāra who is sometimes called simply Kumāra.[5] It seems that through these connections Skanda and Kumāra became identified with one another at a time earlier than that of the Huviṣka coins. The *Suśruta*,[6] a book almost contemporaneous with the Kushans of the Kaniṣka line, describes Skanda and Kumāra as the same deity. The Huviṣka coins, in fact, do not contain four figures of four different deities. One coin contains two figures and three names, and another coin has three figures and four names.[1] So it is clear that the die-engravers have not given as many figures as there are names. In both the coins only one of the figures seems to have a halo and other figures represent only attendant deities, which are female figures. So with all our diffidence in numismatic knowledge we cannot accept Prof. Bhandarkar's opinion. As for three or four names we may quote Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar[2] who taking Mahāsena to be an attribute of Skanda says "looking to the fact that there are two names of a Buddha on the coins, the above three may have been the names of one single deity. While the figures on the coins are doubtful, the names in the *Amarakoṣa* seem to be only accidental. As for Viśākha, however, there is not the slightest clue to show that he was made one with Skanda in times earlier than that of the *Mahābhārata*. Patañjali differentiates between the images of the two deities. Suśruta[3] identifies Skandāpasmāra with Viśākha and extols him as the friend of Skanda. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] mentions कूमारौ, referring thereby to Skanda and Viśākha. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[5] adds that "the Mahābhārata story of Viśākha's having arisen from the right side of Skanda is indicative of the tendency of making two gods as one". These all tend to show that Skanda and Viśākha were two different gods from the time of Patañjali to that of the Epics. It should be noted, however, that the evidence from Patañjali is not quite decisive and the absence of Viśākha's name as a deity in early or late literature is quite significant.

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[1] *Ms.* i, 8, 5 ; *Āśs* vi, 2, 3 ; *Hśs.* iii, 18.

[2] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 22-23.

[3] *Mbh.* XII, 37, 12 ; IX, 46, 96 ; *Rām.* 1, 26.

[4] VI, 1, 3, 18.

[5] *Śabda Kalpadruma*, *sv.*, Sanatkumāra.

[6] *Uttara Tantra*, xxxvii, 1.

In the Epics and the Purāṇas the parentage of Skanda-Kārttikeya is attributed either to Rudra and Pārvatī or to Agni and Gaṅgā or Svāhā. In the Epics he is connected with Rudra and Agni. In the Vedic literature[6] Agni figures largely as the typical leader of the vanguard of army. A special army-fire—Senāgni—is mentioned in some of the later Sanskrit works. We have already seen that the *Śatapatha* calls Kumāra as the son of Agni-Gṛhapati. On the other hand, the *Mānavagṛhya Sūtra*, referred to before, connects Skanda with Śiva and Śaivite gods. In later literature, including the Epics, Skanda's connection with Rudra-Śiva is the most predominant. It seems, therefore, that the war god Kumāra is in reality one of the manifestations of Agni-Rudra-Śiva. Agni and Rudra were often identified with each other in the Vedic texts.[1] In the Epic also Agni is called Rudragarbha[2] and Śiva.[3] Owing to this identification from the earliest times Skanda was connected sometimes with Agni and other times with Rudra. It seems that the former connection was the earliest.

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[1] Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, plate no. xviii, pp. 149-151.

[2] *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 151.

[3] *Uttara Tantra*, xxix, 2 ; xxxvii; 1

[4] 1, 26 [5] *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, p. 151.

[6] *Ṛv.* x, 84, 2 ; *Av.* iii, 1. 1, iii, 2, 1; *Ts.* 1, 8, 9; *Tb.* 1, 7, 3, 4.

Skanda is often associated in the Epics with "mothers". He is called *mātṛnandana.* Of him it is written that he was worshipped by Indra along with the "mothers".[4] The mothers suckled him.[5] The gods sent the "mothers" of the universe to kill him.[6] The gods and terrible dwellers of heaven attended him with the "mothers".[7] Of the Parivāra devatās to be set up in a *svayampradhāna* temple of Subrahmaṇya, Kumāra Tantra prescribes *Saptamātṛkā* as one.[8] This idea of mothers as connected with Skanda seems to come from latter's connection with Agni. In the Vedic literature Agni is called Mātarisvan meaning thereby as the Ṛg-veda poets meant "he who is found in his mother or growing in his mothers".[9] Most probably the idea of "growing in mothers" was in course of time transfered from the father Agni to the son Skanda. But who these "mothers" were and how their worship came in vogue is a question yet unsolved, though it is a fact that the "mother" worship was amalgamated with Skanda worship. Images of "mothers" are mentioned by Varāha Mihira[10] who says that the images of "mothers" should be made *Svanāma-devānurūpa-kṛta-cihṇa.* In the Dravidian religion, however, there is prevalent the worship of seven mothers and one brother. When we read the suggestion of Dr. Keith[11] that there is little evidence or probability of mother worship as Aryan or Indo-European the question naturally arises whether the "mother" worship has to do anything for its origin with the

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[1] *Ṛv.* II, 1 ; *Sb.* vi, 1, 3, 18 ; *Av.* viii, 8, 17-18, etc.

[2] *Mbh.* II, 31, 44.

[3] *Mbh.* III, 225, 26.

[4] *Mbh.* III, 225, 25.

[5] *Mbh.* III, 226.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Gopinath Rao, vol. II, part II, p. 423.

[9] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 72.

[10] 58, 56.

[11] *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, p. 149.

Dravidian religion or not. If Mr. Arbman[1] is right in establishing the connection of "mother"-worship with the Vedic Rudra, then it should be noted that Skanda's connection with "mothers" might have come through that channel.

Then there is the Kṛttikā question so inseparably connected with Skanda-Kārttikeya. All of the three names Kārttikeya, Viśākha and Bāhuleya connect Skanda with the stars. In the Mahābhārata[2] there is a passage which clearly establishes the connection of Skanda with Kṛttikā and other stars. The name Bāhuleya is derived from Bahulā which means Kṛttikā. The name Viśākha also must have some connection with the Viśākhā or Viśākha nakṣatra.

In the Epic[3] Skanda is attended by followers like Unmātha, Pramātha, Subhrāja, Jvāla, Jihvā, Jyotis, Dahati, Dahana, etc., all of whom suggest fever and fire. It seems that star-worship was mixed up with Skanda-worship. Kṛttikā from an early time was connected wtth Agni. Kālidāsa speaks of it as अग्निशिखाक्षतिषट्तारकामयम्[4]. The Mahābhārata[5] calls it *Agnidaivata.* Varāhamihira[6] calls it as *Āgneya* and Viśākhā as *Indrāgnidaivata.* Through the common relation of Skanda and Kṛttikā with Agni, the Kṛttikās were most probably connected with Skanda while the idea of Mātariśvan as connected with Agni gave them the mothership of Skanda. Prof. Hopkins[7] justly remarks that Kārttikeya is a very composite god and we have seen how Kārttikeya is related to Agni, Rudra, the "mothers" and the stars.

From the study of the above evidences it seems probable that the sectarian Skanda-Karttikeya-worship was well established in our country before the 4th century A.D. There are unmistakable sectarian traces in the great Epic. In it Kārttikeya is given a very high position. When he was born, the gods were frightened by his prowess and asked Indra, their king, to kill the boy. But Indra replied that this boy could kill even the creator of the world in battle.[8] Even once Indra, the king of Heaven, took refuge under

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[1] Rudra, pp. 259 ff; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 226.

[2] III, 229, 8-11.

[3] Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

[4] See *Śabdakalpadruma* sv. Kṛttikā.

[5] III, 229, 10.

[6] 15, 2; 15, 14.

[7] *Epic Mythology*, p. 229.

[8] III, 126; 10.

Skanda with folded hands.[1] Sometimes even the Virāj form of Vāsudeva is transferred to Kārttikeya.[2] Even a separate world—the Skandaloka—which a devotee of Kārttikeya is expected to attain is spoken of. In the *Anuśāsanaparva* there is a particular religious canon which is ascribed to Skanda, and Hopkins[3] finds therein that even Kṛṣṇa and Hari are spoken of as servants of Skanda. It is probable that the sectarian worship of Skanda became popular at that time. The Epic testimony of the tendency towards Kārttikeya worship seems to be supported by numismatic evidences. Many Yaudheya coins[4] contain a six headed god on it and the mutilated inscriptions on them seem to read as follows: भगवत: स्वामिनो ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य. The real meaning of the name *Brahmaṇyadeva* is suggested to be the name of the Yaudheya king to which, as Rapson[5] thinks, the type of six-headed god (*Saḍānana*, *Brahmaṇya* or *Kārttikeya*) also alludes. There is another coin[6] of the same type which contains the figure of the six-headed god with the transcription कुमारस्य. Smith suggests 'Kumāra' to be a chief, different from "Brahmaṇyadeva." It may be the case; but here also the name Kumāra refers to Kārttikeya. These numismatic evidences show that the Yaudheyas worshipped Kārttikeya in six-headed form. As to the date of these coins Smith[7] remarks that "the big rude pieces of the chief who calls himself Svāmi Brahmaṇya Yaudheya" may be assigned to the 2nd century A.D. So Skanda-worship may go as far back as the 2nd century A.D. and the traces of its subsequent growth are left in the *Mahābhārata* as shown above, in many later Tantras and in some of the Cālukya inscriptions (5th and 6th century A.D.).*

MANMATHA MUKHOPADHYAY

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[1] III, 126, 18.

[2] III, 231, 12-16.

[3] *Epic Mythology*, p. 231.

[4] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, p. 182, f.n. 1.

[5] *JRAS*, 1903, p. 291.

[6] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins etc.* p. 192; R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna mudrā*, p. 119.

[7] *Catalogue of Coins etc.*, p. 165.

* For some suggestions I am indebted to my Professor Mr. J. N. Banerjee, M.A.

Kulaśekhara of Keraḷa

Keraḷa has come to occupy an important place in the field of oriental research. She gave to the world a number of dramas of an *apparently* new dramatic technique, which led to the postulation of the *Bhāsa theory*, and though this theory has now been generally discarded, this has no doubt ushered in a large amount of original papers on the subject of what may be correctly called *the Keraḷa-nāṭaka-cakra*. Her Sanskrit theatre is a subject of absorbing interest, for here alone are found in living form the ancient Sanskrit stage and the indigenous type of acting.[1] No less important is the script in which the so-called Bhāsa's dramas are preserved, and a careful study of the same is ushering in new problems of Prākṛtic study.[2] These dramas do not exhaust her wonderful manuscript wealth: other works equally important are being discovered and announced. Again, she has made her own contribution to the make-up of the wonderful Sanskrit literature: her numerous works and her brilliant authors form an altogether untrodden field for research. And the history of her Sanskrit literature has yet to be written.[3] My study of the subject has suggested a few interesting problems of literary history, such for instance as the problems of Kulaśekhara, of Vāsudeva,[4] of Līlāśuka and Nārāyaṇa. There are indeed a number of other problems; but these appear to me to be the most important as much on account of their intrinsic confusion as on account of their extrinsic importance. A study of these problems is interesting not merely from the literary, but also from the historical point of view. No systematic attempt has yet been made to tackle any of these problems comprehensively and this has led to the postulation of a number of theories, more or less contradictory, regarding Keraḷa history and chronology.[1] It is proposed to consider in the course of this paper in some detail one of these problems, viz., the problem of Kulaśekhara, which is the oldest and the most important.

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[1] Vide my paper 'Acting in Keraḷa' published in the Mythic Society Journal, Bangalore, vol. XII, pt. II pp. 183-295.

[2] Vide my paper on 'Sanskrit and Prākṛt in Arya Eluttu' published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London vol. V, part II, pp. 307-11.

[3] The writer gave a course of lectures on this subject under the auspices of the Madras University and these lectures are being published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

[4] An aspect of this is referred to in my paper 'Rāmakathā Study', published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. V, part IV, pp. 797-801.

Keraḷa knows many Kulaśekharas, about half a dozen in number so far as we now know.[2] There is first and foremost the Vaiṣṇavite devotee, the author of the Mukundamālā. There is another Kulaśekhara who figures as the dramatist, the author of the two dramas, Dhanañjaya and Saṃvaraṇa. A third Kulaśekhara greets us as the patron of Vāsudeva, the author of the Yamaka-Kāvya, Yudhiṣṭhira-Vijaya, a fourth as the patron of Prabhākara and a fifth again as the patron of Līlāśuka. A sixth Kulaśekhara also is met with as the founder of the temple at Trikkulaśekharapuram, a suburb at Cranganore, from which is founded an era, the Kulaśekhara Era. One document at least is available dated in this era.[3] All these Kulaśekharas were kings of Keraḷa, though there are some divergent views on this subject also. Another fact about them that we may accept is that all these Kulaśekharas could be taken to have lived before the 10th century.[4] For the rest we are faced with a serious blank. We do not, for instance, know how many Kulaśekharas there actually were, when they lived and what exactly each one did. Some work has indeed been done regarding the author of the Mukundamālā[5] and so also of the dramas,[6] but the results achieved do not show that the final word has yet been said on the subject. I feel that the conclusions arrived at by the scholars who have worked on this topic have been vitiated to a certain extent by the fact that they were concerned with one Kulaśekhara at a time and were trying to introduce an imaginary interpretation. And secondly they were strangers to the local traditions. These two facts have taken away much of the value of their speculations.[1] In this paper it is my object to show that the date of Kulśekharas is yet an open question, which deserves to be reconsidered.

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[1] Vide the last paragraph in my paper on "Rāmakathā—a study"; also 'Keraḷa Cultural Antiquities' published in the Madras Presidency College Magazine, December, 1928.

[2] See my paper on 'The Bhāṣa Theory again,' published in the I.H.Q., vol. V, no. 3, pp. 552-558.

[3] The Annual Report on Archæological Researches in Cochin State, for the year '100 M. E.

[4] A different date is suggested only for the dramatist and this view cannot be accepted, see my paper in *I.H.Q.*, vol. V, pp. 552-558.

[5] Vide Early History of Vaiṣṇavism by Prof. S. K. Ayyangar, Lecture II.

[6] Vide Mm. T. G. Śāstrī's Introduction to the Dramas.

One Kulaśekhara figures as the author of the sweet devotional lyric, the Mukundamālā. Regarding its authorship, there can indeed be two opinions, for the last verse explicitly says who its author was :

yasya priyau śrutidharau kavilokavīrau
mitre dvijanmavarapāraśavāvabhūtām /
nāmbujākṣacaraṇāmbujaṣaṭpadena
rājñā kṛtā kṛtir iyam Kulaśekhareṇa //

The Tamil scholars identify this Kulaśekhara with the Kulaśekhara Alvar ; for both are Vaiṣṇavites and have sung songs of devotion and both hail from royal families, Cera or Keraḷa. It is not indeed inconceivable that the same poet sang songs both in Sanskrit and Tamil, only it is not usually the case, especially in old days. Again there has been a lot of confusion between the terms Cera, and Keraḷa. True it was that at one time the two terms might have been used as denoting the same country, for Keraḷa formed a part of the Cera Kingdom. But it was not always the case, and we know that Keraḷa is never correctly called the Cera after the 8th century. Consequently, when a poet says that he hailed from the Cera royal family, it need not necessarily mean that he was a Malayali. In other words, no convincing evidence has so far been adduced to prove the identity of the Kulaśekhara Alvar and the author of the devotional lyric.[2] From the lyric itself we get the information that he was a king named Kulaśekhara, and if we may accept one of its earliest commentators, Rāghavānanda, we can also come to the conclusion that he was a king of Keraḷa. This work does not give us any further information of a historical character. It is, however, clear that the sweetness of the devotional fervour running through it and the high temporal position of the author gave the work a phenomenal popularity, and the Vaiṣṇavites still look upon this work as a very sacred book. One more legitimate inference the work yields and that is that Sanskrit studies were very popular in Keraḷa at that time and that our land even then produced two distinguished poets who the poet-king thought were well known enough to be remembered by the posterity, even if he did not mention them by name. So far we can naturally infer, but anything over and above this gets within the realm of speculation.[1]

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[1] There is confusion in the consideration of the subject by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, see his Early History of Vaiṣṇavism, p. 41.

[2] The following is a summary of Mr. M. R. R. Ayyangar's view of this subject, kindly furnished me by my colleague Mr. Ramanuja Achariar : 'From his own words we gather that Kulaśekhara Alvar was a Cera king (early half of the 8th century A.D.) ruling over Kon-

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gunatu from his capital town of Kollinagar. Evidence does not warrant his being identified with a Keraḷa prince and it is quite significant that he has not sung in praise of any Keraḷa shrine.'

[1] The concluding verse we have quoted above offers a number of interesting variant readings. Instead of *Kavilokavirau*, we have also *Ravilokavirau* and *Naralokavirau*. Of these two readings the latter does not yield any sense, except that both were very honoured in the world. The first of these does convey a specific meaning : it may be taken to mean that 'leaders of *Raviloka*' and Raviloka is identified with the territory round Trippunittura in the Cochin State. In other words, the acceptance of this reading would yield the idea that the Bhakta king was holding his court at this town. In the absence of any information regarding the kingdom, such an interpretation cannot be accepted for the time being. We would accept the reading given above, which means the 'leaders of the world of poetry' and this is quite suited to the context. For the king was mentioning them as his friends so that he might ensure some respect for his work. Though we have no means of definitely deciding who these poets were, the statement is a clear indication of the fact that at the king's court there were two eminent poets, association with whom was in itself, the king believed, a sufficient hall-mark of poetic merit. This also yields the suggestion that Sanskrit studies were then very popular in Keraḷa. Unfortunately there is no means of deciding which is the correct reading, and any inference based mainly upon an interpretation of the verse must necessarily be tentative,

Coming to the work itself, one is forced to the conclusion that it does not come to the high literary standard that a pious progeny has always been assigning to it. It must be conceded that the work is pervaded by a natural simplicity and an intense devotion which are possibly unrivalled. These two qualities, by themselves, cannot give it the high position that has been accorded to it by the South Indian Vaiṣṇavites. What then is the reason that has given it this high position ? The spiritual and temporal position of the author may be one reason. Possibly this Kulaśekhara, we incline to think, was the first royal convert to the Vaiṣṇavaite faith[1] and the first South Indian to write a religious lyric in Sanskrit. Such a view may go a long way to explain the great popularity of the work and the position it occupies in religious literature. It is interesting to note that the Mukundamālā is more popular among the Vaiṣṇavite Tamils than among others, probably because in it may be discerned the seeds of that qualified monism which it was given to Śrī Rāmānuja to expound. In other words,

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unless it is supported by other evidence. In the second para also there is difference in the reading : some read as '*padmaśarāvabhūtām*.' Evidently this reading does not give any sound sense. Another variant is '*pārśava Carāvabhūtām*'. This is quite good. As per reading we have accepted, the term, *Pāraśava* means *warrier*, one of the many varieties of *Ambalav asis*, and this would suggest that the king had two friends, one a brahmin and the other a *warrier*. One difficulty may be raised against this interpretation, the interpretation of the term *Śrutidharau*. A *warrier* is not allowed to study the Vedas, and as such he could not be termed such. In answer we have only to say that we may either assume that at that time there was not the taboo or accept a *śleṣa* in this expression : Śruti may be understood in the sense of the Vedas and it could also be taken to mean music. The Brahmin friend of the king was well-versed in Vedas while the *warrier* friend, in music. The acceptance of this reading would raise one more question : Have Ambalavasis such a high antiquity ? This appears to be a serious objection, but if we may take our stand on tradition, we may accept a sufficiently high antiquity for them, because our traditions make the Yamaka poet, Vāsudeva, a Nambiar, another sect of Ambalavasis. It will be clear from what has been said that whatever readings we may accept, this last verse does not give anything historical.

[1] Vide verses 39, 40 and 43 of the Mukundamālā.

this work formed the sacred text in Sanskrit on which to propound a new school of thought. If this view has any semblance to correctness or acceptance, the author of the Mukundamālā is the first of the Vaiṣṇavite Perumaḷs who actively patronised the Vaiṣṇavite faith to check Buddhism and Jainism in Keraḷa. This assertion of the orthodox religion on the part of the Emperor led the Buddhists to mobilise their forces, which in its turn led to the blooming forth of the genius of Prabhākara and the elaboration of the Guru school of Mīmāṃsā.[1] This view necessarily makes us put the author of the Mukundamālā to the period anterior to Prabhākara.

The traditions of our religious history have preserved for us two dates, as expressed in the *Kali* chronogram, *Yajñasthānaṃ saṃrakṣyaṃ* and *Cittacalanaṃ*. The former of these which works out about the close of the 4th century is reported to be the date of *Meḷattol Agnihotri*, the staunch supporter of the Vedic cult, and the *Kalivākya* itself suggests that even then the Vedic religion stood in need of protection. In other words, Buddhism silently advancing over the time honoured Vedic religion, came to be perceptibly felt as its serious rival towards the close of the fourth century. The second *Kalivācaka* which works out to about the middle of the 6th century, records the destruction of the premier temple at Payyannūr dedicated to Varāhamūrti. The destruction, our traditions narrate, was the result of a religious schism, and it led to the dispersal of the orthodox brahmins from that stronghold to the southern banks of *Cūrṇikī*, the modern Periyar or Alwaye river, where in due course were born the great pillars of Vedic religion and Hindu philosophy, Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Our traditions will have it that the fundamental cause which brought about this calamity was the introduction of foreigners, but they are not very clear who these foreigners were and where they were introduced. In the absence of anything definite, I incline to believe that they are the foreigners to our religion and their introduction is to our centres of worship. In other words, the whole quarrel might have resulted in the introduction of Buddhists into the temple or religious service. In the light of the preceding chronogram such an interpretation does not seem to be implausible. The silent spread of Buddhism and the popular appeal it always made to the masses gave it a great impetus so that by about the middle of the sixth century, it got a crowning victory, when it brought about a cleavage in the orthodox fold. From this period, till about the time of the Vaiṣṇavite Kulaśekhara, Hinduism appears to have been in eclipse. As a matter of fact Hinduism got its first victory only just before the time of Prabhākara, who, as we shall show later, may be assigned to the early half of the 8th century. The intensive spread of Buddhism led the orthodox party to invite from outside a number of scholars, six in number, to fight their Buddhistic antagonists. All these were Bhaṭṭas and this is an indication that they were the disciples of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. The result of their work was to wean gradually the masses from falling away from the brāhmaṇic fold. These scholars met the Buddhists in argument and defeated them during the time of a Kulaśekhara. And their most eminent disciple was the famous Prabhākara. In other words, this Kulaśekhara appears to have been the first royal convert back to Hinduism and the first to actively espouse the Hindu cause. It is worth while to point out that Prabhākara was a Vaiṣṇavite, and it is possible that his patron also was a Vaiṣṇavite. This probably was then the most popular cult, thanks to the popularity given to it through the work of the Alwars. As a result of the conversion of the Perumal and his ardent partiality for Vaiṣṇavite Hinduism, his new faith, this Perumal lavished his patronage on Prabhākara and his school and at the same time founded at least one temple, the Śrī Kulaśekhara temple in a suburb of Cranganore. In other words, a consideration of the religious traditions of the period leads one to the legitimate conclusion that the new cult underwent three distinct stages: the first was the transference of the Emperor's sympathy from Buddhism to Hinduism, by converting him into an ardent Vaiṣṇavite; the second, the popularisation of the cult and the founding of the numerous Vaiṣṇavite temples, the earliest of such temples being apparently the shrine of 'Trikulaśekharapuram'; and the last but not the least, the founding of the mutt at Kumblam for the study of the Vedas and Śāstras. The first President of this mutt was Prabhākara who acclaims a Kulaśekhara as his patron; and when we know that Prabhākara precedes Śaṅkara and is not far separated from him, we are safe when we say that our Kulaśekhara must have lived during the closing decades of the 7th century and the first half of the eighth century. This date is also borne out by the fact that some time at this period there were come into the land some Buddhists from China: in case we assign this period to the Kulaśekhara, these pilgrims may be identified with It-sing and Hiuen Tsang. In other words, we shall not be wrong if we assume that with the close of the 7th century there began a revival of Vedic studies under the lead of the newly introduced Vaiṣṇavite cult which in its turn led before long to the complete overthrow of the Buddhistic cult, thanks to the founding of numerous Viṣṇu temples and the famous Mutt at Kumblam for the study of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra. The author of the Mukundamālā, we believe, was the father of the revival of Hinduism. He was the first king to write the devotional lyric in Sanskrit and to actively espouse the Hindu cause, and probably the first to build a number of Viṣṇu temples and to found the Mīmāṃsic Mutt at Kumblam under the presidency of Prabhākara for the furtherance of the exegetical ritualistic studies.

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[1] Vide the author's paper on 'The Three Great Philosophers of Keraḷa', published in *IHQ*., vol. V, no. iv, pp. 676-693.

Prabhākara is one of the most elusive figures in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Scholars who have tried to fix has date are sharply divided into two camps, some assigning him to the pre-Kumārila period and others to the post-Kumārila period. Our traditions are unanimous in maintaing that Prabhākara was the disciple of the six Bhaṭṭas invited in Keraḷa to check the advance of Buddhism. These Bhaṭṭas were the disciples of Kumārila, and these were the first founders of the Kumārila system of Mīmāṃsic philosophy, one eminent follower of which school was Śaktibhadra, the author of Cūḍāmaṇi, and contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkara. If our traditions may be believed one more direct disciple of Kumārila lived to be the direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkara, I mean Maṇḍana Miśra, the later Sureśvara. A reconciliation of these is not impossible, if we suppose that Kumārila lived to a long age and that Maṇḍana was the last of his disciples. This is a very fairly feasible position and it explains also why Prabhākara could expound a new system. In other words: Prabhākara was able to expound the new creed, because even Kumārila and his first batch of students had not yet been able to establish their new view. That one is the disciple of another does not necessarily mean that the disciple must be younger: thus Padmapada and Sureśvara and Śaktibhadra are necessarily older than Śaṅkara himself. It is, therefore, quite possible that Prabhākara and Kumārila were almost of the same age, and both of them died before Śaṅkara must have come up to the arena. Not only that, if we may attach any weight to the remarks of Śaṅkara, it is also reasonable to suppose that Kumārila must have died before Prabhākara, because Śrī Śaṅkara is more wroth with Prabhākara than with Kumārila. He is unsparing so far as Prabhākara is concerned, probably because he was as good as his contemporary and also hailed from the same *gramam*. The date of Śrī Śaṅkara has been fixed with a fair degree of certainty at the close of the 8th century and that means we may assign Prabhākara to the opening years of the same century. Kumārila might have passed away about the middle of the period and Maṇḍana, a latter day disciple, could have lived to become the disciple of Śaṅkara and to live even after him, especially because the latter had but a short span of life. The same view is further borne out by the fact that Śaktibhadra, a disciple of Śaṅkara, was a follower of Kumārila and this means that he must also have been connected with the original Bhaṭṭas who came and introduced the Mīmāṃsā philosophy into Keraḷa. If he had come after Prabhākara, we would naturally expect to find him following the tenet of Prabhākara. I would therefore believe that Śaktibhadra was the last of the disciples of the Bhaṭṭas, while Prabhākara belonged to the first batch. In other words, Prabhākara was an older contemporary of Śaṅkara, And this view again suggests the middle of 8th century as the date of Prabhākara.

Now to sum up: the Vaiṣṇavite Perumal of Keraḷa, the author of the Mukundamālā was the first to assert himself against the rise of Buddhism: he espoused the Vaiṣṇavite cult, composed a sweet lyric, built Vaiṣṇavite temples and patronised the revival of Sanskrit studies in the land which led to the discovery of the genius of Prabhākara and this Perumal must have graced the throne in the early decades of the 8th century.

Now we shall proceed to the consideration of the other Kulaśekhara. Vāsudeva mentions a Kulaśekhara as his patron, and traditions make Līlāśuka a contemporary of Kulaśekhara. The date of Līlāśuka can with some of certainty be fixed, for our traditions make him the contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkara and the successor of Sureśvara on the pontifical throne at Tekke Madham at Trichur. In other words, he may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. The opening words of his Karṇāmṛtam suggest that he was the disciple of Vāsudeva: compare

cintāmaṇirjayati somagirirgururme
śikṣāguruśca bhagavān śikhipiñcamauliḥ/

The second pada has a śleṣa and here one may find a veiled reference to Vāsudeva, from whom Līlāśuka learnt his wordly lore. Śikṣāguru refers to the teachers who taught him worldly lore ; and so the Guru referred to in the first Pāda must be the spiritual Guru. If such an interpretation may be accepted, it would mean that Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka stand in the relation of Guru and disciple and this would suggest that the Kulaśekhara who is the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka are one and the same and that this Kulaśekhara must have lived in the middle of the 8th century so that Līlāsuka may continue to live in the beginning of the 9th century. And be it noted that this Kulaśekhara cannot come down to the eighties of this century for at the time of the birth of the seer, the king of the country was Rāja Rāja, as mentioned in the Śaṅkarācāryacaritaṃ, and during the heyday of his greatness the king was Rājaśekhara, a great poet and dramatist. This would mean that the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka must be put down to the middle of the seventh century.

It would be interesting to inquire if the patron of Vāsudeva and the author of the Mukundamālā could be identical. The necessary inter-relation between the various authors we have mentioned makes this identification rather difficult. That would again suggest that the country was ruled by the same king for more than half a century, a thing that is very improbable. We would therefore keep the author and the patron of Mukundamālā separate, assigning the earlier to the earlier, and the latter to the middle, decades of the century. There is also one more argument which necessitates such an assumption, as we shall presently show.

We have tried to locate five Kulaśekharas and these have resolved themselves into two monarchs. We shall now proceed to locate the dramatist Kulaśekhara. He has been the subject of a lot of discussion and various dates have been assigned to him, ranging from the 10th to the 12th century. The 10th century-and-after view was first suggested by the late lamented Mm. G. Śāstrī, and this view has been amply supported by the acceptance of same by Prof. Keith.[1] In the light of the internal evidence furnished by the works themselves, this date cannot be accepted, and, not only that, Mm. Śāstrī's date has no conclusive arguments to support it except his fondness for his own Bhāṣa theory.

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[1] *IHQ.*, vol. V, p. 553 : Note 6.

From the Prologue of Kulaśekhara's dramas it will be found that the poets then familiar and popular in Keraḷa were Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa and Daṇḍin, while the poets Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra were unknown to him. The absence of reference to Bhāsa is inexcusable if his works were known to him, and these works were popular on our stage. The absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to this author, all the more so because there was some sort of intellectual intercourse between the North and South of India after the time of the great seer. In view of the reference to Daṇḍin and Harṣa, the absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to the date of the dramatist Kulaśekhara. Similarly the absence of all reference to Śaktibhadra gives us the earliest limit. Śaktibhadra claims that he was the first South Indian to write a Sanskrit drama, and his drama, Cūḍāmaṇi, has been very popular on our stage. If Kulaśekhara lived after the time of Śaktibhadra, surely he should have referred to the first Sanskrit dramatist of Keraḷa—a dramatist not the least important even when we regard him from the purely æsthetic point of view. This absence of reference to him can therefore mean only one thing, namely, that Kulaśekhara lived before the fame of Śaktibhadra became well known. It is also very strange that Śaktibhadra should have claimed himself to be the first S. Indian dramatist, if Kulaśekhara lived before him. Himself a Malayali, he could not have said like that, if when he wrote his drama, the dramas of Kulaśekhara were popular. The only possible method of reconciling the two positions would be to assume that the two dramatists were contemporaries, Kulaśekhara the older and Śaktibhadra the younger. And they may have written their dramas almost at the same time. Possibly Śaktibhadra, being diffident of his own merits, did not care to announce his work—that had to be done by the great Śaṅkara. We know that Śaktibhadra lived to be a disciple of Śaṅkara and that gives us his date. And since during the time of Śaṅkara the sovereigns were Rāja Rāja and Rājaśekhara, Kulaśekhara must be anterior to him. In other words, we assign the dramatist Kulaśekhara to the middle of the 8th century and he must have lived before 788 A.D. As regards the argument that the dramatist Kulaśekhara's contemporary quotes from Daśarūpaka, the answer is that it is a myth invented by Mm. G. Śāstrī to support his Bhāṣa theory.

Now that we have to assign the dramatist to the middle of the 8th century, it is but reasonable to identify him with the patron of Vāsudeva. And as for the identification of this Kulaśekhara with the author of the Mukundamālā, it will be seen that the style of the two writers presents an insurmountable difficulty in the way. There is absolutely nothing in common between the natural simplicity of the lyric and the chaste elegance of the dramas. The two reveal two distinct hands.

The discipline that we have introduced into the problem of the Kulaśekharas from the traditional and the literary points of view resolves the six Kulaśekharas into two: the author of devotional lyric and the dramatist, who come one after another with or without an interregnum, but more or less close upon one another. Both were devout Vaiṣṇavites and both tried to give an impetus to the Hindu revival which, springing from the greatest Bhaktayogin of Kulaśekhara and passing through the hands of the Karmayogin of Prabhākara, reached its climax in the hands of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the greatest Jñānayogin that the world has ever produced.

Enough has been said in the course of the paper to show this was a century of great literary revival. Both the Kulaśekharas were great patrons of literature. The regal munificence of the former was enjoyed by the Bhaṭṭas and Prabhākara, while at the court of the latter lived Somagiri, Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka. Besides the royal protégés, there were at least two great poets: Lakṣmidāsa and Śaktibhadra. And the latter days of the century ushered in the great master-mind of India, the venerable Śaṅkara and his disciples. It would thus be seen that the 8th century is a great century for us, so far as the development of Sanskrit literature is concerned.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI

A Sūrya Icon from a Daśāvatara Temple, Pagan

The Nāt-hlaung Kyaung is a Viṣṇu temple, in fact, the only ancient Brahmanical temple that is still now extant in Burma.[1] It is a Viṣṇu temple which enshrines in the niches of its walls as well as in those of the central square obelisk images of the different incarnations of Viṣṇu, and of Viṣṇu himself. The principal deity of the temple, an image of Viṣṇu seated on his *vāhana* Garuḍa, is placed in the main sanctum formed by a large deep niche in the middle of the east face of the central obelisk which supports the crowning *śikhara* of the temple. In plan the Nāt-hlaung temple is a square raised on a plinth about five feet high above the ground. Like all similar temples of Pagan, the interior of the square is occupied by the usual perambulatory corridor running all round a central huge square masonry structure on the three faces of which were originally figures of Viṣṇu standing in niches each adorned with slender pilasters. These figures are all very badly damaged. On the side facing east there is the sanctum wherein was placed the main deity referred to above, and which found its way sometime in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the Berlin Museum. On the outer walls of the square basement there were on all sides arched niches each of which originally contained one stone sculpture. Some of these sculptures cannot now be traced ; others that are still in *situ* are more or less badly damaged. Of the outer sculptures representing the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, seven only remain ; "three of the four niches on the east side are empty, the sculptures having apparently been removed from there and destroyed by iconoclasts ; the figures that remain bear visible traces of wilful disfiguration."[2] Of these seven images that remain, six have been identified as six *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, namely, Varāhāvatāra, Narasiṃhāvatāra, Rāmāvatāra,

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[1] For an elaborate study of the Nāt-hlaung temple and its gods, see my paper on the subject to be shortly published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1931.

[2] Duroiselle, *An. Rep. A. S. India*, 1912-13, p. 136 ff.

Paraśurāmāvatāra, Vāmanāvatāra and Kalki-avatāra.[1] The seventh image which is one of the best preserved images of the Nāt-hlaung Kyaung has not yet yielded to any definite identification. An attempt is, therefore, made here to ascertain its identity.

It would surprise anybody at the first instance to know that it is not an image of Viṣṇu, nor any of his different *avatāras*. It is sheltered in the niche close to the entrance, just to the proper left. The image can easily be described, but it is better to quote Mon. Charles Duroiselle, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, who sought to identify it in one of his very valuable and interesting Annual Reports (*A. R., A. S. I.*, 1912-13). "It is standing on a lotus flower from which two other smaller ones spring ; the arms are placed close to the body bent upward at the elbows, and each hand holds a lotus-bud on a level with the shoulders ; it wears a crown ; the distended earlobes hang down and touch the shoulder under the weight of large ear ornaments. It has bracelets, armlets and anklets ; the lower garment is tucked up and reaches as far as the knees, lines showing folds are visible." Mon. Duroiselle was not able to identify it, but he added, "the number of the niches would lead one to suppose that this also represents one of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* ; but it has none of the distinctive attributes of any of these." And precisely for this reason it is not any of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, nor is Viṣṇu himself. In all likelihood it is an image of Sūrya of the South Indian variety. The position of the two hands as well as the lotus-buds held in one line with the shoulder are significant ; no less significant is the number of the hands, namely two, and the strictly erect attitude of standing. All these are features that are particulary noticeable in the South Indian variety of the Sūrya icon. The high boots covering the two legs and feet, and the horse-drawn chariot with Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā shooting arrows on the two sides of Sūrya are, no doubt, missing from the present example ; but this need not surprise us in the least, for

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[1] See my forthcoming paper, "The Nāt-hlaung Temple and its Gods" in the *Ind. Ant*, 1931. We have besides these six *avatāras*, a seventh one, namely, an image of Buddhāvatāra which is enshrined not in one of the outer niches but inside the temple in one of the two small niches over the two capitals on the two sides of the main sanctum. It can, therefore, safely be assumed that the three niches that are now empty must have once sheltered images of the Matsya, Kūrma, and Kṛṣṇa *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

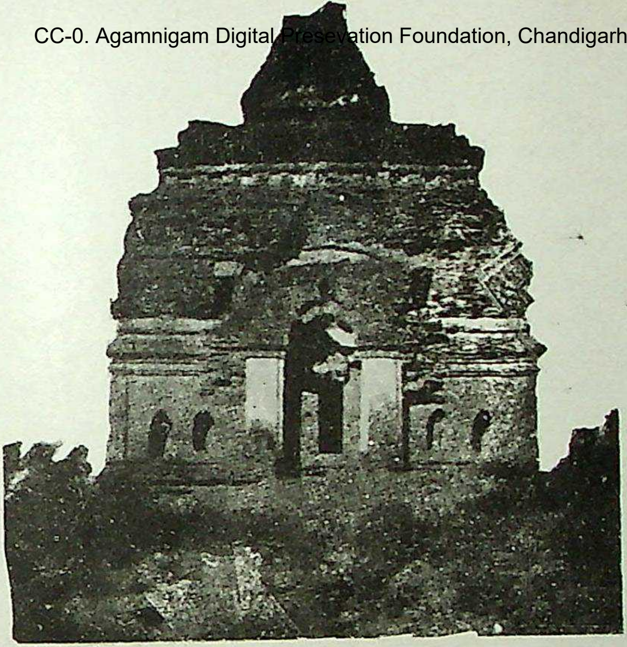

FIG. 1

The Nāt-hlaung Kyaung, Pagan
(East face)

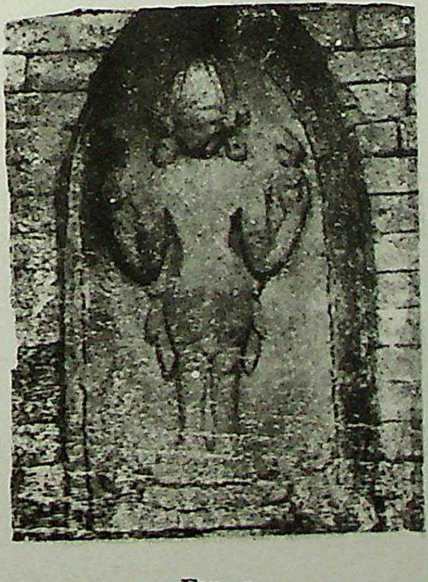

FIG. 2

Sūrya standing in a niche of the Nāt-hlaung temple

these are exactly the features that we miss in the South Indian variety of the Sūrya icon. And when we compare our present icon with a Sūrya image from South India,[1] the iconographic affinities seem to be so striking that it is simply impossible to exclude the possibility of its being designated as Sūrya image. It is surprising, one must admit, to find a Sūrya icon where we would very naturally seek for an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. But the fact can easily be reconciled if we would only care to bear in mind the very intimate relation of Viṣṇu with the Vedic Sūrya. For, there in the Vedas, he is never a supreme God, but is on the contrary always identified with the Sun, and is said to have stridden over the seven regions and to have covered the whole universe by means of his three steps, a story in which the germ of the later *Trivikrama* incarnation story is so often traced. The idea underlying this solar explanation is obviously incorporated in the *dhyāna śloka* : "*dhyeya-ssadā savitṛ-maṇḍala-madhyavartī Nārāyaṇa-ssarasijāsanasanniviṣṭaḥ keyūravān makara-kuṇḍalavān kirīṭī hārī hiraṇmaya-vapur dhṛtaśaṃkha-cakraḥ*" wherein Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa is described as residing in the orb of the Sun. The idea that Viṣṇu is the Sun appears still to be maintained in the worship of the Sun as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa".[2] We can, therefore, safely identify the present image as Sūrya whose presence in a Daśāvatāra temple, though uncommon, is not altogether an impossible proposition.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

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[1] Cf. plates LXXXVI, XCIV (fig. 2) and XCVI (fig. 2) in G. Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, part II.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 74 ; see also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIV, 1925, p. 161.

Vilvamangalam Svāmiyārs

One of the most intricate problems confronting the students of early Keraḷa History is the absence of a settled chronology for many of her rulers and men of letters. Keraḷa is said to have had more than one Kulaśekhara, Rājarāja, Kotai Ravi and Bhāskara Ravi among her sovereigns, and more than one Vāsudeva, Śaṅkara, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār among her talented scholars, writers and saints. In the absence of definite historical data, it is very difficult to assign a work or event to a particular writer and to fix his date. In the elucidation and solution of these problems, adequate attention has to be paid to traditions. An attempt therefore may be made here to utilise the available literary and traditional evidences, and to see whether there were not more than one devout soul called Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, whose saintly personality has been connected with many important temples of Keraḷa, and whose devotional fervour has found lasting expression in many literary compositions.

According to Mr. Uḷḷūr S. Parameśvara Ayyar, there is only one Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār and he is known as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka and Kodaṇḍamaṅgalam. A native of Conjevaram or of one of the villages of Andhradeśa, who had resided for long in Keraḷa, he is considered by Mr. Ayyar as the author of the *Puruṣakāram*, *Gopikābhiṣekam* and other works, besides the well-known *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*. He is stated to have lived about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A.C. He, therefore, concludes he could not have been a friend of Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, who introduced the devotional form of entertainment known as *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kaḷi* in the 17th century A.C.,[1] and that the tradition which makes them contemporaries has to be rejected.

The question of the date and identity of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs is, in itself, of considerable interest and importance, and deserves careful consideration by students of cultural history and especially, of the history of literature, religion and philosophy, not merely because of the intrinsic value of their productions, but also because of the salutary influence exerted by them on subsequent generations. As considerable difference of opinion is possible with regard to the above position of Mr. Parameśvara Ayyar, it is proposed to examine some aspects of the question, with a view to provoke further discussion and ultimately to arrive at the truth.

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[1] So far as the writer is aware, this view, expressed by him about five years ago, has not since been revised. See his article 'Agastya Bhaṭṭa,' in the *Sadguru* (Malayāḷam monthly), vol. III, pp. 479-81.

Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār I (*Līlāśuka*)

We will first try to fix, as roughly as possible, the date of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka. We get a clue to his date from the fact that, in a commentary of his on one of the works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, he admits that his tutor is Padmapādācārya, himself a disciple of the Ācāryasvāmin.[1] As the age of the great Advaitin philosopher is generally held to be from 788 to 820 A.C., Līlāśuka may be considered to have flourished in the early half of the 9th century A.C. This fact also well fits in with Keraḷa tradition. For, Sureśvarācārya, and Padmapādācārya, the disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara, are the traditional founders of the Naṭuvile Maḍhom and the Tekka Maḍhom, two of the *Sannyāsī Maḍhoms* which exist at Trichur. The heads of the former institution claim continuity of spiritual succession from Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār also, and, in view of the fact that no other mutt in Keraḷa claims him or his namesakes, whatever be their dates, we are naturally led to infer that the tradition which assigns all the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs to the Naṭuvile Maḍhom may be accepted as genuine. It may also be stated that it is on account of this fact that members of this institution even now retain the coveted privilege of performing *Puṣpāññali* (worship with offerings of flowers) to God Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum, to whom, according to tradition, it was Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār who offered\ *Nivedya*, for the first time. Besides these, as both the *Maḍhoms* are situated very close to each other, it would have been very easy for Līlāśuka, a *Sannyāsin* of one *Maḍhom* (Naṭuvile Maḍhom), to have become a literary disciple also of Padmapādācārya, the president of the neighbouring *Maḍhom*.

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[1] For this reference, I am indebted to Prof. K. R. Pisharoṭi.

Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār II

The question now arises: Is this Līlāśuka identical with the Vilvamaṅgalasvāmin, who is acknowledged to be the author of the grammatical treatise, *Puruṣakāram*? The internal evidence provided by this work itself helps us to suggest an answer. Reference is made therein to the Vyākaraṇa of the 12th century A.C. Mādhavācārya, who was the chief minister of the founders of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and who flourished in the 14th century A.C., refers in his *Dhātuvṛtti* to the *Puruṣakāram* as an important and authoritative work on the subject. From this it will be clear that the *Puruṣakāram* was composed roughly after the first half of the 12th and before the 14th century A.C. (1150-1300 A.C.).

If we follow tradition, we may arrive at the date of this Vilvamaṅgalasvāmin, a little more approximately. According to local tradition, there was a Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmīyar, who was a contemporary of Talakkuḷattūr Bhaṭṭatiri, the greatest astrologer of Keraḷa, whom he is said to have consulted with regard to some predictions. The date of Bhaṭṭatiri, probably that of his death, is preserved by the Kali cryptogram "*Rakṣeit Govindamarkka*" which works out to about 1238 A.C. Besides this, there are some Kali chronograms relating to the founding of certain temples by the Svāmiyār, which lead us to the same conclusion.[1] We believe that this Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār and the author of the *Puruṣakāram* may well be identified and assigned to the 13th century A.C.

Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār III

From what has been said above, it will be noted that the evidence of tradition agrees more or less with that of literature in that there were more than one Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, and that they belonged to different ages. We do not see why, then, we should discredit the traditional view that there were, at least, three of these *Sannyāsins*, and that one of them, the last, met Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, the author of the *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kali*,[1] who flourished in the 17th century A.C. Of course, some may be sceptic about the possibility of the Svāmiyār being able to vouchsafe to the pious prince a vision of God Kṛṣṇa, and they need not credit that part of the story. A reference to the known events of the period would show that such a meeting between the saint and the prince is not improbable. For, Mānaveda, the author of the *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kaḷi*, completed the work about 1657 A.C. as seen from the Kaḷi chronogram *Grāhyāstutirgāthakai*, which occurs in its last verse.[2] He was a devout recluse, and while he was the Eṛālpāḍ Rājā or heir-apparent, his uncle, the Zamorin Mānavikraman Śaktan Tampurān, waged his wars in Cochin, occupied the northern part of it and resided at Trichur, where he died only in 1658 A.C. It would have been thus very easy for Prince Mānaveda to form an acquaintance with Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, a *Sannyāsin* of the Naṭuvile Maḍhom, even at Trichur. And if tradition is to be believed, it was after his meeting with the Svāmiyār and his vision of the god that he resolved to write the poem. Thus the anecdote might really have had some basis in fact.

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[1] I am not prepared to hold that this Svāmiyār alone is the "Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār" who is connected with many of the temples of Keraḷa. It was a practice with the earlier generations of tradition-makers to ascribe the founding of most of the pagodas of Keraḷa, large or small, important or unimportant, to a Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, irrespective of their actual age, so as to assign to these institutions a long-standing pedigree and to enhance their sanctity and prestige by their association with such a devout saint, just as we find many of the forts scattered in different parts of Keraḷa attributed to an eponymous Ceraman Perumāḷ, the hero of popular tradition.

It has been stated that this Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār has written a Sanskrit work called the *Keraḷācāradīpikā*,[3] at the request of one of the Rājās of Ciṛakkal (Kôlāttiri) in North Malabar. But this work, or rather the first part of it, viz., *Keraḷa Kṣetra Māhātmyam*, which has been published last year, seems to be a spurious production of the early half of the 19th century, and can hardly be attributed to the Svāmiyār. Yet, the tradition that he is connected with the Rājā's court in his earlier years (?) might after all turn out to be true.[1] We are, however, unfortuuately, not in a position to say which are the works that may rightly be attributed to him.

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[1] Believed to be an adaptation of the now defunct *Aṣṭapati-Āṭṭaṃ*.

[2] sphāyadbhaktibhareṇa nunnamanasā ŚrīMānavedābhidha-
kṣoṇīndreṇa kṛtā nirākṛtakaligrāhyā stutir gāthakaiḥ/
lakṣmīvallabha "Kṛṣṇagīti" riti vikhyātā tavānugrahād
eṣā puṣkaralocaneha bhajatām puṣṇātu mokṣaśriyam.//
(Kṛṣṇanāṭṭaṃ, Svargārohaṇam, V. 32).

This shows that the work was completed on the 1, 736, 612th day of Kali (or 20th Dhanu 829 M.E.).

[3] This work has been recently published by the Jñāna Sāgaram Book Depot, Trichur, 1929.

The Author of the Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam

Having fixed with some approximation to certainty the dates of the three Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs, we may proceed to examine whether we can assign to each of them any of the other works attributed by Mr. Parameśwara Ayyar to the *Paramahaṃsa* of that name, who flourished about the beginning of the 13th century A.C. The *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*, the most popular of the devotional pieces of lyrical composition attributed to the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār is written by a Līlāśuka as seen from the concluding verse of its first *Sarga*.[2] This Līlāśuka is identified with Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār by Śāraṅgadhara in his *Paddhati*, written in the 14th century A.C.[3] That this Līlāśuka *alias* Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār lived prior to the 14th century is also shown by the *Madhurā Vijayam* of Gaṅgādevī, which was produced in the same century. Gaṅgādevī was the wife of the Vijayanagara prince, Vīra Kampana, and was one of the literary gems of his father's court. In her *Madhurā Vijayam*,[4] after paying her due homage to Vālmīki,

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[1] Cf. Kavi Sārvabhauman Vaḷḷattoḷ Nārāyaṇa Menon's Introduction to '*Kaustubham*', No. 7 of *Rāma Varma Granthāvali*, issued from the Ciṛakkal Palace, 1926.

[2] Īśānadeva caraṇābharaṇena nīvī-
Dāmodarasthirayaśastavakolgamena/
Līlāśukena racitaṃ tava deva *Kṛṣṇa*
Karṇāmṛtaṃ vahatu kalpaśatāntare 'pi.
(Sarga I, verse 110).

[3] He quotes some passages from the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*, and then acknowledges his indebtedness thus "iti Vilvamangalam Śrī caraṇānām."

[4] Mandāramañjarīsyandimakarandarasābdhayaḥ/
Kasyanāhlādanāyālaṃ *Karṇāmṛtakaver giraḥ*?

Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, who lived many centuries previous to her, she recalls the names of later poets like the *Karṇāmṛtakavi* (*Līlaśuka*), Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśvanātha. The poet that is first mentioned after the Karṇāmṛtakavi is Tikkaya, who may be identified with the distinguished Tikkaṇṇa Somayāji who graced the court of the Telugu-Coḍa chief, Mānmasiddhi, about the end of the 13th century A.C. Agastya was the uncle of Viśvanātha, both of whom were courtiers of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra of Warangal (1267-1323 A.C.), while Gaṅgādhara was the father of Viśvanātha. It would thus be seen that Līlāśuka comes after Daṇḍin and before Tikkaya, say, between the 8th and the 13th century A.C. This, by itself, is not however, a sufficient ground for identifying him with the second of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs.

In this connection, it has to be pointed out that it is unlikely that all the three *Sannyāsins* had the name Līlāśuka, there is also no evidence to show that it was a common title and if we turn to the evidence which the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam* itself affords with regard to the cult of its author, it would appear that he was originally a Śaivite.[1] His conversion to the Vaiṣṇavite cult was quite possible in an age of religious revival, when the disciples of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself founded the *mutts* at Trichur, dedicated to God Viṣṇu in his manifestation of Pārthasārathi and Narasiṃha. I, therefore, incline to the view that the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam* may be assigned to Līlāśuka, the first Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, who lived in the ninth century A.C.

Tikkayasya kaveḥ sūktiḥ Kaumudīyakalābhidheḥ/
Satṛṣṇaiḥ kavibhiḥ svairam cakorair iva sevyate//
Catussaptatikāvyoktivyaktavaiduṣyasampade/
Agastyāya jagaty asmin spṛhayet ko na kovidaḥ ?
Stumas tam aparam Vyāsaṃ *Gaṅgādhara*mahākavim/
Nāṭakacchadmanā dṛṣṭām yas cakre Bhāratīṃ kathām//
Ciraṃ sa vijayī bhūyād *Viśvanātha*kavīśvaraḥ/
Yasya prasādāt sārvajñyaṃ labhante mādṛśeṣv api//

[1] Śaivā vayaṃ na khalu tatra vicāraṇīyaṃ
Pancākṣarījapaparā nitarāṃ tathāpi/
Ceto madīyam atasīkusumāvabhāsaṃ
Smerānanaṃ smarati Gopavadhūkiśoram//
Sarga II, verse 24.

The Author of the Gopikābhiṣekam

The position with regard to the *Gopikābhiṣekam* is, however, a little more difficult. This work constitutes Svāmiyār's portion of the Prakit poem *Śrī Cinha Kāvya.* The latter comprises 12 sargas, of which eight were composed by "Vilvamaṅgalasvāmin", the Svāmiyār himself, and the rest by Durgaprasād Yati, a Kashmirian Brāhman who was on a pilgrimage to Rāmesvaram and who had become his disciple. *Gopikābhiṣekam* speaks of the holy deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the verses being dexterously chosen as illustrations of the Sūtras of Traivikrama's Prākṛt Grammar. One notable feature of the poem is that the Prakṛt word "Siri" (Sanskrit: Śrī) occurs in the last stanza of every sarga. At once a devotional piece of composition and a grammatical treatise, it may, for a *prima facie* reason, be assigned to the author of the *Puruṣakāram*; for, it has to be noted that all the three *Sannyāsins* called Vilvamaṅgalam are traditionally believed to have been steeped in their devotion to God Kṛṣṇa who appeared to them at their behest.

The birth-place of the Svāmiyārs

Another question of importance relates to the birth-place of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs. Mr. Parameśvara Ayyar is disposed to think that Līlāśuka was a native of Conjeveram or of some neighbouring place in the Telugu country, and that he immigrated into Keraḷa, where he settled down. No one would envy our friends of the Āndhradeśa for her having been gifted with such a pious poetic soul, the intensity of whose devotion broke forth in raptures on being privileged to see with their mortal eyes God in his manifestation of Bālagopāla; i.e., if, indeed, they were Telugu brāhmaṇas. But, as it is, we do not know why, in the absence of reliable evidence of their Telugu extraction or connection, it should be suggested that they were non-Malayāḷis. It has to be admitted that there is nothing in Keraḷa tradition which supports it; in fact, the traditions of the *Sannyāsi Maḍhoms* are against it. Few instances of the grant of *Sannyāsam* to non-Nambūtiris and most of all, to Paradeśi brāhmaṇas have been recorded. According to the immemorial custom, *Sannyāsi* succession in these *mutts* has been confined to members of some sections of the Nambutiris of particular *Grāmams*, consisting of the purest descendants of the early brāhmaṇa settlers. This is a fact which could easily be known by one who has studied the traditions and practices of these institutions. In the face of these facts, it would seem rather strange that a Paradeśī (outside) brāhmaṇa should have been allowed to become a *Sannyāsin* of the *Maḍhom*.

There are also some ancient traditions, which show that one of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs was originally known as Mangalam Nambutiri.[1] This connects him with the *Sabhā Yogam* at Tṛkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam and with the places adjacent to Cranganur. While he was a distinguished *alumni* of the *Sabhā Maḍhom* at Tṛkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam, he is stated to have become an ascetic, the turn in his life being taken when he was persuaded by his lady-love to exhibit the same constancy of purpose in his devotion to God and to concentrate his energies for the attainment of a higher object, viz., *Mokṣa*. The incident is said to have occurred at Kākkatturutti near Tṛkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam, on a stormy night, when he braved the dangers of the flood and forded the narrow sheet of backwater lying between Cetwāi and Cranganur, all for the sake of meeting the damsel who was, till then, the object of his profound veneration. The fact that the *Sabhā Yogam* was then very powerful, and was in a position to chastise the wayward youth for his wanderings suggests for the anecdote an earlier period than the 13th century, by which time the *Sabhā Yogam* appears to have lost much of its power and influence, if not already driven by adverse circumstances to seek fresh asylums at Trichur and Tiruṇāvāya. It would seem, therefore, that the tradition noticed above might, with some justification, be referred to the first of these *Pūjyapādas* known as Vilvamaṅgalam, the rather fanciful title of Līlāśuka being, probably, assumed by him subsequently.

It will be seen from the above that we are, to some extent, justified, on the basis of the available evidence, to assume, for tentative purposes, that there were more than one Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār, that the first of these, known as Līlāśuka, was a contemporary of Padmapādācārya, a direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, that the second, the accredited author of the *Puruṣakāram*, lived about the 13th century A.C.; and that the last, if there was one such, was the contemporary of Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, and might have lived in the 17th century, as held by Keraḷa tradition. The first *Sannyāsin* probably composed the *Srī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam*; the second might have produced also the *Gopikābhiṣekam*, while there are available, at present, few works that can definitely be attributed to the last. Nothing final can now be said as to the place of birth of each of them, though local traditions seem to be against the view that they are non-Malayāḷis. In any case, there is no gainsaying the fact that they spent the winter of their life amidst Malayāḷis, and have won for themselves a permanent place in the hearts of the pious Malayāḷis.

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[1] It is not known whether this is a contraction for Kodaṇḍamaṅgalam or Vilvamaṅgalam or Villumaṅgalam.

Whether they be natives of Keraḷa or of the Eastern coast, it has to be admitted also that their activities, literary and religious, contributed, to a great extent, towards the fulfilment of the object of the *Sannyāsī Maḍhom* over which they presided, viz., the affording of ample facilities for "spiritual instruction, the acquisition of spiritual knowledge to promote the Hindu religion and to represent to the laity the true nature of God, according to the Hindu religion." Well may these great and venerable Vaiṣṇava saints be entitled to adoration at the hands of the people of Keraḷa, and in as full a measure as the great Kulaśekhara Āḻvar aroused the spiritual fervour and commanded the homage of non-Malayāḷis, and yet, has been undoubtedly acknowledged to be one of the greatest souls Keraḷa ever produced.

A. GOVINDA WARIYAR

Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship*

II

General character of Viṣṇuism in the Epic.

Before taking up the question of Viṣṇu's relation to Nārāyaṇa we propose to describe briefly the general character of early Viṣṇuism in the Epic. It must be noted at the outset that Viṣṇuism as a sectarian doctrine is not found in an isolated and definite form in the Epic, as we find, for instance, the Nārāyaṇīya worship; but it pervades the whole Epic in an imperceptible and elusive manner. The difficulty is also enhanced by the rather elastic epic attitude which indiscriminately identifies its sectarian gods, who not only absorb one another's deeds and attributes but also the characteristic theological conceptions and traits of worship. Viṣṇu is, in turn, identified with Śiva, Brahmā and a host of other deities, and the identification, though sometimes formal, helps to obliterate the distinctive sectarian worship which pertains to the deity. In xii, 349, 64-69, five current systems are mentioned, viz. Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Vedāraṇyaka (=Vedāḥ) and Pāśupata; but in all these systems Viṣṇu is declared to be the *niṣṭhā* or the chief object of worship. In another passage (xii, 338, 4) where the god is addressed as *Pañcamahākalpa*, the commentator gives the names of five sects, viz., Saura, Śākta, Gāṇeśa, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. These passages really furnish a clue to the understanding of Epic Viṣṇuism in general. It may be regarded as the general name given to the all-inclusive and dominating sectarianism of the Epic, appearing in an ever-shifting and somewhat colourless form. In the huge conglomeration of adventure, legend, myth, history, and superstition and of complex bodies of custom, sentiment, belief and philosophy, this Viṣṇuism is fully blended and cannot be separated as such. It is only when it is directly identified, for instance, with the Nārāyaṇīya or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship that it becomes full-blooded and distinctive; but the connexion is hardly organic and helps us very little in understanding the character of Viṣṇuism itself.

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* Continued from *IHQ*, vol. VII, no. 1, p. 93 f.

No Viṣṇuite or Vaiṣṇava sect in the Epic.

The Viṣṇuite, as a sect or as indicating a definite form of worship, hardly exists in the Epic, and the term Vaiṣṇava, in the sense of sectarian worshipper of Viṣṇu is never used in the work, except at the end where by way of addendum, the benefits of reciting or listening to the narratives are detailed for an obviously pious purpose. There is no Viṣṇuite or Vaiṣṇava : as a matter of fact, all in the Epic are Viṣṇuites or Vaiṣṇavas.

Character of Viṣṇu as the centre of a popular faith.

At the same time Viṣṇu is not merely a dummy god for th sustaining of a colourless religion or for the hoisting of varied sectarian beliefs of a more or less definite character. That he has a vivid personality which makes him stand out of the extraordinary variety of deities has already been made clear ; and that he is the supreme deity, the all-god, is acknowledged throughout in the Epic. Viṣṇu is practically the personal embodiment of the complex mass of epic beliefs, both orthodox and popular, and as such, he has a real personality. Hopkins is right in stating[1] that the ultimate emphasis is not on trinity, nor on multifariousness, but on unity ; and Viṣṇu is the vivid personification of that unity. He is therefore the supreme externalisation of the philosophical[2] as well as the religious idea of the unity of the godhead ; he is also the supreme unifying fact of divergent and bizzare epic faiths and beliefs. He is the summit of its theological conception, to whom alone (whether in his own person or in diverse forms) not only the knowledge and activity of the worshipper but also his highest sentiment of religious devotion called *bhakti*, should be directed. Conceived in the most vivid terms of personality, he is the centre of gravity towards which the *bhakti* conception of the epic religion moves with its complex theological ideas of a personal god and his grace. Though the doctrines of the faith, unless definitely shaped in Kṛṣṇaism or Nārāyaṇism, are often philosophically incongruous and incoherent, its foundation is a true religious feeling, broad-based on the fancies and instincts as well as on the simple hopes and yearnings of large masses. Viṣṇuism must be described in terms of this large and mystic religious feeling of loving worship in an epic setting. To identify itself with gods and godly heroes was therefore easy; but its confused appearance is not an accident but an essence of its being. It is monotheism, but monotheism in which the worship is directed to the "one god of various forms" (viii, 33, 49).

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[1] *Religions of India*, p. 413.

[2] The philosophical shape which was given to Viṣṇuism, when it came in the hands of the philosophers, is as indefinite as its purely religious or theological aspect ; for Hopkins has very ably shown in his *Great Epic* that the philosophical views of the Epic represent every shade of opinion from Vedic theism to Upaniṣadic monism as well as various forms of early philosophical speculations, styled generally in the Epic as Sāṃkhya-Yoga. Viṣṇu as a god was naturally interpreted according to these philosophical views, old and new.

The characterisation of this religious feeling of *bhakti* takes a more tangible form in the definite aspects of epic Viṣṇuism, known as the Nārāyaṇīya and the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship. The list of Viṣṇu's thousand names (xiii, 149) would itself indicate his Protean character: but in the Epic his principal incarnation is Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.

The idea of "bhakti" in the Epic.

It is here that Viṣṇuism takes a distinct shape. But it may be worth while to indicate here briefly the general conception of *bhakti* in the Epic, without any reference to its particular developments, although it must be admitted that the fundamental conception is the same throughout. The epic use of the term *bhakti* has been analysed very ably by Hopkins[1] in its general as well as in its religious sense. It is clear that *bhakti* is not always monotheistic; for, though directed chiefly to one god, it is often found accompanied by a similar feeling for other gods, and each god is the object of *bhakti* as need arises. But "other gods" are really conceived as forms of the one god, and in this sense the attitude is monotheistic. When directed towards the one god, it is the devotion directed solely towards him as the special object of worship. When the question is formally put to Sañjaya, "What is this *bhakti* you bear towards Janārdana"? his reply is interesting (v, 69, 4):

māyāṃ na seve, bhadraṃ te, na vṛthādharmam ācare /
śuddha-bhāvaṃ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam. //

This reply lays stress on the renouncing of delusive attachments and wrong practices, and prescribes purity of heart and study of scriptures which would give knowledge of god. Although exclusive concentration, moral purity and knowledge or belief are admitted as preliminary to *bhakti*, they are not identical with it; the reply really evades the question. The conception of *bhakti* throughout, whether directed towards a god, or to a woman, or to the king, connotes deep personal affection, typified by the love of a wife for her husband, and is the word interchangeable with *prīti*, *bhāva*, *rāga* or *sneha* as term of fervent and endearing love. It is an emotional and ethical passion, rather than an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. The deity is conceived as the beloved, and the worship is essentially loving and intimate adoration (pūjā). As such, *bhakti* borders upon sense-devotion and leans perceptibly towards the erotic passion. It is usually of the pure sort, and implies a kind of erotic mysticism, which conceives religious longings in terms of earthly passion,—a quasi-amorous attitude of self-surrender to the person or image of the beloved deity, such as characterise not a little of that Christian literature for which the song of Solomon—"I am my Beloved's and my Beloved is mine" is the sacred archetype.

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[1] *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 727 f.

Tendency towards sense-devotion and erotic mysticism.

But its too ardent tendency has the danger of lapsing into sensuousness or sensual passion, such as is apparent in some of the mediæval expressions of this emotion. The feeling results in an exclusive concentration and complete surrender of self; the *bhakta* acknowledges himself as *prapanna* (suppliant or submissive), and resorts to his god as the only refuge (*śaraṇa*) for divine grace (*prasāda*), without which he can never work out his salvation alone. There is no direct exposition of the doctrine of grace (*prasāda*) and surrender (*prapatti*) in the Epic, but the ideas are fully acknowledged as involved in an attitude of *bhakti*. These religious conceptions find full expression in the worship of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, who are completely identified with Viṣṇu, and to this we now turn our attention.

The idea of prasāda and prapatti in "bhakti".

Nārāyaṇa is not such an ancient god as Viṣṇu, having been mentioned for the first time in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and in a dubious section of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*; but his origin and early history are somewhat obscure. He appears to have been originally a deity of a different kind. Two ancient traditions about him seem to exist. The first, recorded in a Brāhmaṇa fairly early, gives us in ritual language a mysterious and elusive figure, apparently identified with the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa or Cosmic Man as the symbol of creation by sacrifice; and

The origin and history of Nārāyaṇa: two traditions.

the second, recorded in the Epic, gives us a hint (and nothing more) of his character as a legendary saint, divine or deified, although here also he is regarded as a *pūrva-deva* or ancient god.

Earliest reference as Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

The earliest reference[1] to Nārāyaṇa in a highly mystical passage in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xii. 3.4) calls him Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, who, under the instructions of Prajāpati, the impersonal cosmic principle in Brāhmaṇa literature, places in a pantheistic mood all the world and all the gods in his own self and his own self in all the worlds and all the gods, thus becoming, by the power of sacrifice, the Universe itself. In a subsequent passage in the same Brāhmaṇa (xiii, 6, 1, 1) we are told that Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in his desire to surpass all things performed a *pañca-rātra sattra* or a series of sacrifice lasting over five nights, and became omnipresent and supreme by a sacrifice. The sacrifice is designated *puruṣa-medha* or immolation of the Puruṣa,[2] and apparently refers to the tremendous symbolical sacrifice, described in the famous Puruṣa-hymn of the *Ṛg-veda* (x, 90) as consisting of the mystical immolation of the cosmic Man for the purpose of creation[3]; for, a little later, another passage (xlii, 6, 2, 12) of the Brāhmaṇa refers distinctly to the Ṛgvedic hymn (x, 90) with an apparent allusion to a tradition that Nārāyaṇa was the author of the hymn, which came to be known as his litany.

His performance of a Pañca-rātra sattra and Puruṣa-medha.

Survival of this tradition in Epic literature.

The Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa tradition of the Brāhmaṇa appears to survive in the strange account given of Nārāyaṇa in the *Mahābhārata* (xii. 338, 4) where he is praised by Nārada in a long prose hymn as the Puruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa and Puruṣottama,[4] as well as by the epithet Pāñcarātrika. In *Mbh.* xii, 350, 5 (cf. also xii, 207, 5, 9-10), the nature of Nārāyaṇa, who is of course equated with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, is described by the all-pervading, all-generating and eternal characteristics of the supreme and one Puruṣa or Puruṣottama, with whom he is directly identified as the Primeval Man (xii, 350, 14), and as bearing *par excellence* the name of Mahāpuruṣa (xii, 350, 9). Indeed in the Epic the identity of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as the Puruṣa or Mahāpuruṣa is in general an acknowledged fact. In the vision which Nārāyaṇa vouchsafes to Nārada (as the Bhagavat does to Arjuna) Nārāyaṇa[1] is described (xii, 339, 6f), after the Ṛgvedic hymn, as having a thousand heads, thousand eyes, a thousand arms and feet as well as a hundred (xii, 43 : xii,335) or even a thousand (xiii,149) names, with the addition that he is golden coloured—a phrase which is Vedic but which some of the Upaniṣads[2] apply to the description of the supreme Puruṣa who shines beyond darkness. The Puruṣa-sūkta of the *Ṛg-veda* itself is referred to in the Nārāyaṇīya, xii, 350, 5, and its undisputed authority is cited in maintaing the thesis that although many *puruṣas* are acknowledged in Sāṃkhya-Yoga, there is only one *puruṣa* who is the sole source (*yoni*) of all *puruṣas*. Is it possible that this early identification of Nārāyaṇa with the Primeval Man lingers behind the puzzling ety-

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[1] In *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* (ii, 9) Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as Viṣṇu and Keśava, but this passage, also naming some later deities, has been regarded as an obvious interpolation.

[2] And *not* human sacrifice, as Muir, *op. cit.* p. 25, explains.

[3] In *Śatapatha Br.* (xiii, 7, 1, 1) the self-existent Brahma is represented as sacrificing himself (*ātmānaṃ hutvā*) in a similar manner.

[4] These epithets as well as *Uttama-Puruṣa* (xii, 335) are common enough for Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) in the Epic. It is also possible that the preponderatingly Sāṃkhya-Yoga theology

A suggested explanation of the name Nārāyaṇa.

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of this (Nārāyaṇīya) section of the Epic suggested the epithet Puruṣa, cf., for instance, *Mbh.* xii, 340, 28-29. But Puruṣa is conceived here more as an active principle connected with creation, as well as with preservation and destruction. On Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa, see Senart, *Essai sur la legende du Buddha*, pp. 87f., p. 123 and Carpenter, *Theism in Mediæval India* (Hibbert Lectures), 1921, p. 45. In the account of creation given by Manu (i, 11), Brahmā is called the Puruṣa. This may be due to the common connexion with the notion of creation, but it is not unusual for Brahmā or Prajāpati to absorb the function of the supreme god, characterised generally as Puruṣa. Cf. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, i, 2, 45f. So also Rudra-Śiva is called the Puruṣa in *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, iii, 14 (quoting the Puruṣa-hymn). The Puruṣa idea appears to have been well established in the post-Brāhmaṇic literature and applied indiscriminately to all the great gods.

[1] Like Viṣṇu, for instance, in v. iii, 7.

[2] *Chāndogya Up.* i. 6, 6 ; *Śvetāśvatara*, iii, 8 and 14 etc. The *Śvetāśvatara* passage is obviously imitated in xii, 340, 57. The *puruṣa* is a hackneyed enough expression in the Upaniṣads to designate the Supreme Self, and we have also the symbols Puruṣa-in-the-sun ; Puruṣa-in-the-right-eye, etc.

mology of the name itself[1] which literally signifies 'man', as also behind that of his mysterious double Nara ?[2]

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[1] [The invention of the name appears to us to be somewhat similar to the eponymous process. Barnett explains (*op. cit.* p. 76) that Nara in the word Nārāyaṇa is a proper name, and that Nārāyaṇa signifies "a man of the Nara family" (Nārāyaṇa in his view having been originally a divine or deified saint); but this explanation is partial, and connects itself with the second tradition about Nārāyaṇa mentioned above, to which alone Barnett would give importance to the exclusion of the first, and apparently earlier, Brāhmaṇic tradition of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa. But Nārāyaṇa's inseparable twin Nara raises a difficulty. Apparently Nara is also "a man of the Nara family," being Nārāyaṇa's double; but it is strange that of the twins one should be called by the gotra-name Nara and the other by the derivative name Nārāyaṇa. But Barnett is undoubtedly justified in rejecting the somewhat artificial etymology of the name (referred to by R. G. Bhandarkar, section 32) which would derive the word Nārāyaṇa from *nārāḥ* (waters) and *ayana* (going), "one who has the waters as his resting place", connecting the conception with that of primeval waters; or from *narāḥ* (men) and *ayana* (goal or resting place), "one who is the goal or resting place of men." (Naras are also spirits as well as gods of heroic prowess in the Epic). The conception of primeval waters goes back to the *Ṛg-veda* and is traceable in the Epic and Purāṇa conception of Nārāyaṇa; but the interpretations appear to be later concoctions of misconceived etymology. Both the derivations, however, appear to be accepted in the Epic. In iii, 189, 3 (also in iii, 271, 42) it is said that Nārāyaṇa is so called because in days of yore he named the waters *nārāḥ* and made them his resting place (*ayana*); in xii, 341, 39-40 (=*Manu-Saṃhitā*, i, 10) the same derivation of the name is given with the addition that the waters bore that name because they were the offspring of *nara* (*āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ*)! It is not clear if *nara* in the phrase *nara-sūnavaḥ* is a proper name or simply means 'man,' but it is clear that Nārāyaṇa here declares himself to be "the resting place or goal of man" (*narāṇam ayanaṃ khyātam aham ekaḥ sanātanaḥ*),—S.K.D.]

[2] [Nara, except as identified with Arjuna, appears to possess no direct activity or importance, but only remains as a mysterious shadow of Nārāyaṇa. His origin and association cannot be traced in the earlier train of ideas; but R. G. Bhandarkar gives the some-

A later reference in Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.

It is not until we come to the fourth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (x, 1, 6) that we find again the mention of Nārāyaṇa[1] ; but this section, which is also known as the *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* and which refers to many late sectarian deities, is described as a *khila* or supplement, and is therefore presumably a later addition.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that the mention of Nārāyaṇa is made here in connexion with Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu apparently as three phases of the same Supreme Being (*Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe, Vāsudevāya dhīmahi, tanno Viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt*).

Nārāyaṇa in the Mahābhārata,

In the *Mahābhārata*[3] (as well as in the Purāṇas) the identification of Nārāyaṇa as the supreme god (*deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ*) with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva (and as a corollary, with every other great god) is complete. It may be suggested that the early identification of Viṣṇu with sacrifice and Nārāyaṇa's symbolical connexion with sacrifice had something to do with their ultimate equalisation ; for it is significant that Viṣṇu as the essence of sacrifice is still worshipped under the name of Yajña-

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what artificial explanation (*op. cit.* sec. 34) that the origin of the idea of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is to be sought in the Upaniṣadic parable of two birds dwelling in the same tree, one looking on, and the other actively engaged in eating the fruit thereof. The connexion suggested is hardly convincing, and the description of Nara as actively eating the fruit does not apply. The association of deities in pair, or the tradition of legendary twins is ancient. Is it too fanciful to presume that the original Brāhmaṇa conception of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa was for some mysterious reasons split up, according to this ancient tradition of pairing deities, into Nara (= Puruṣa), and Nārāyaṇa (also = Puruṣa) who is an afterthought or an obvious derivative therefrom ? Does not the tradition refer to a duplication into Nara and Nārāyaṇa (*sattvam ekaṃ dvidhā kṛtam*, see *Mbh.*, v, 49, 21), the quadruplication being the result of an obviously later addition ?—S.K.D.].

[1] Cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, i, 78 ; xiii, 353.

[2] Keith (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 171, fn.) thinks, however, that the date of the passage can hardly be later than the 3rd century B.C.

[3] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 206. The phrase quoted is taken from a reference to Nārāyaṇa in i, 67, 90 (BORI. ed. Poona 1930) = 1, 67, 151 (Bombay ed.). It also occurs in xii, 336, 24 and 29 etc. Also *deva-devaḥ purātanaḥ* in xii, 336, 12 etc.

(Sacrifice) Nārāyaṇa[1]. Mythological accounts in the Epic connect Nārāyaṇa with creation and with the ancient conception of primeval waters.[2] He is still called Puruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Uttama-puruṣa, or and Puruṣottama, and probably from this connexion Viṣṇu derives his well-known epithet of Uttama-Puruṣa or Puruṣottama.[3]

It is in this character as the supreme deity and as identified with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva that Nārāyaṇa appears as the originator of a devotional religion (which however appears to have have had a tradition independent of Viṣṇuism or Vāsudevism) in the somewhat confused and mythical account of the Nārāyaṇīya episode of the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*[4]. We shall consider the details of the Nārāyaṇīya theology of Ekānta-dharma and its independent character hereafter ; but what concerns us most at present is the tradition, which appears to survive here, of the early character of Nārāyaṇa himself. The tale relates (xii, 334) that the one original form of Nārāyaṇa took birth in the Kṛta age in the quadruple form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa as the four sons of Dharma or Righteousness.[5]

especially in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan,

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[1] Nārāyaṇa's connexion with sacrifice (*yajña*) is indicated in the epithets given to him throughout the Nārāyaṇīya section, such as *yajña*, *mahāyajña*, *yajñapati*, *yajña-hṛdaya* etc. (xii, 338, 4 ; xii, 339, 10 etc.) ; and it is significant that he is also called *Parama-yājñika* by Nārada. Yajña is also the name of an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* list of incarnations (i, 3, 1 f.).

[2] See the story of the Boy and the Nyagrodha tree in *Mbh.* iii, 188, 89. The primeval waters were regarded from Ṛg-vedic times as the original seat of the generating power of the universe.

[3] What appears more or less as a title or description in the Epic becomes a definite manifestation (*prādurbhāva* or *avatāra*) in the Purāṇas. Thus Puruṣa is given as a *prādurbhāva* in the list of 22 Avatāras in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (i, 3, 1 f) where Nara and Nārāyaṇa are also Avatāras.

[4] xii, 334-351 (Bombay Edition). An analysis of the episode is given by Grierson in *Ind. Ant.*, Sept. 1908, p. 263 f. and by R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* sec. 4-5. Also in Sörensen, *Index*, pp. 512-16.

[5] In vii, 200, 57 also we are told that Nārāyaṇa for the purpose of action (*kāryārtham*) took birth as the son of Dharma and performed austerities. The birth from Dharma is also referred to in xii, 342, 106-7, 127 ; xii, 347, 1 ; xii, 343, 51 ; xii, 344, 20. In some of the Purāṇas Ahiṃsā is said to be the mother.

The first two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, took up their abode in the hermitage of Badarī and practised penances there.[1] They were still there when the ever inquisitive Nārada came to visit them ; but Hari and Kṛṣṇa who dwelt there formerly were no longer present at the time of Nārada's visit. To Nārada's question as to whom they could be worshipping when they themselves were the supreme deities, Nārāyaṇa informed his amazed enquirer that he was worshipping his own original form (*prakṛti*), the all-pervading and eternal, which embraced both the existent and the non-existent. After this philosophical conversation, Nārada made up his mind, with Nārāyaṇa's permission, to go and see the original form of Nārāyaṇa ; and by means of mystical Yoga-powers he soared into the sky and reached the summit of Mount Meru from which place he obtained in the northwest direction a Pisgah-sight of the mythical godland and abode of Nārāyaṇa, the mysterious Śvetadvīpa,[2] surrounded by the Milk ocean.

which records a second tradition of his early character as an ancient deified sage or ṛṣi.

There can be no doubt about the extremely mythical character of this account, but it is possible that this strange story preserves even in its mythical garb an ancient tradition about Nārāyaṇa and the Nārāyaṇīya sect. Although indistinguishable from the supreme diety, there is a hint that both Nara and Nārāyaṇa were originally ancient saints of legend. While the description *ṛṣi* (sage) is common (e.g.xii, 339, 100 ; xii, 343, 10 and xii, 346, 7-8 ; v, 96, 14 ; v, 97, 2 ; iii, 47, 11), they are expressly mentioned in xii, 335, 6, and xii, 343, 34, as *purāṇau ṛṣī* or ancient sages,[1] performing austerities. The epithet also occurs in iii, 47, 10 ; vi, 66, 11 ; viii, 87, 74, where Nara and Nārāyaṇa are not only great ancient sages (*purāṇau ṛṣi-sattamau*), but are also the prototypes of the close epic association of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respectively. Again, in iii, 12, 46, Janārdana (= Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) is said to have addressed Arjuna and declared that "thou art Nara and I am Nārāyaṇa-Hari, and we, the two sages (*ṛṣī*) Nara-Nārāyaṇa, have come to this world at the proper time." The same sentiment is repeated in the rather long digression in the Nārāyaṇīya (vii, 341, 37) on the etymology of the various names of the supreme deity of the cult. Indeed, this idea of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as incarnations of Nara and Nārāyaṇa respectively (inspite of the many declarations that Arjuna is also an *aṃśa* of Indra) appears to be fairly well established in the epic ;[2] but the tradition also is important that originally Nara and Nārāyaṇa were ancient sages, just as Arjuna and Vāsudeva were considered as human incarnations. Their traditional deification is also expressed by the description that Nara and Nārāyaṇa were 'traditionally two old gods"[1] (*nara-nārāyaṇau devau pūrva-devāviti śrutiḥ*, v, 49, 19 ; also v, 49, 5f.).

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[1] This performance of austerities at Badarī (at Gandhamādana in v, 96, 15) by Nara and Nārāyaṇa is also referred to in other places, e.g., in iii, 40, 1 ; iii, 141, 23 (Gandhamādana is also mentioned), iii, 156, 10 etc., and seems to be an established tradition. See also v, 111, 4, where it is said that in the hermitage of Badarī, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā reside. In 1, 70, 29 the hermitage is described as *gaṅgayā upośobhitam* ; in iii, 145, 40 as *bhāgīrathyupaśobhitam*.

[2] Attempts at a geographical localisation of the place, as Barnett rightly emphasises (*op. cit.*, p. 84, note), have been wholly misdirected. The question gained importance from the hypothesis, put forward by some scholars, of points of contact between Christianity and early *bhakti* religion ; the so-called "white-landers" in their opinion, representing a Christian community, probably Nestorian, in the north. This is not the place to discuss the question in detail ; but the theory of *early* Christain influence from the north, with which we are immediately concerned, may now be taken to have been discredited.

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[1] The epic Nara and Nārāyaṇa, as well as Hari and Kṛṣṇa, occur also as the sublimated forms of Lokapālas (see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 152, f.n.).

[2] Also in i, 67, 110 ; i, 218, 5 ; iii, 86, 6 ; vi, 23, 26 etc. Tadpatrikar (*B.O.R. Institute Annals*, x, p. 331) computes 26 references to this combined identification in the Epic, and rightly reminds us that the joint-worship of Vāsudeva and Arjuna is referred to in Pāṇini, iv, 3, 98. With regard to Arjuna's godhead, which is proclaimed to him in iii, 41, 35 and 43 ; iii, 47, 7f., Hopkins remarks (*Great Epic of India*, New Haven, 1920, p. 184) : "Arjuna is a form of Viṣṇu. He is taught this with wonder and great amaze in the sixth book. But our amazement at his amazement is still greater, for this doctrine, apparently so new to him, was revealed to him long before, in the third book, and on that earlier occasion he appeared fully to appreciate the fact that he was divine and identical with Kṛṣṇa, which facts in the sixth book he has totally forgotten." [It seems that Arjuna's godhead and identification with Nara was an afterthought (the 26 references are comparatively much too little) arising out of his friendship with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva who was perhaps long ago identified with Nārāyaṇa. The way in which this godhead is protested would also indicate its comparatively recent origin.—S. K. D.]

It is also curious that this tradition of Nārāyaṇa as an ancient sage vaguely allies itself with the earlier recorded Puruṣa-conception of Nārāyaṇa by means of the other tradition mentioned above, which alleges that he was the *ṛṣi* or sage who composed the Puruṣa-sūkta of *Ṛg-veda*, x, 90.

Significance of his composite origin as an explanation of his identification with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respectively.

This composite origin of the epic Nārāyaṇa is interesting as affording a striking instance of the moulding of a personal god out of ancient figures of myth and legend. On the one hand, we have the euhemeristic view which indicates that Nārāyaṇa was originally a divine or deified saint ; on the other hand, the old symbolical-ritualistic idea of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, connected with creation, contributes to make the conception complete. But in whatever way we trace the obscure origin and history of Nārāyaṇa, it is clear that in the Epic the equation Viṣṇu = Nārāyaṇa = Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa = the supreme deity is fully established. A precise solution of the equation is not possible, but it may be suggested that, on the one hand, Nārāyaṇa's Brāhmaṇic connexion with sacrifice as Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa probably helped his equalisation with Viṣṇu, the Brāhmaṇic personation of Sacrifice; while on the other hand, the the tradition of his euhemeristic origin probably made it easy to approximate him to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, in whose legendary history also an euhemeristic element must be admitted.

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[1] [In this interesting passage (as well as in v, 96) warlike attributes are also ascribed to them so that their incarnations as Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa may not be unfitting. Brahmā informs Bṛhaspati (v, 49) that the ascetics (*tāpasu*) Nara and Nārāyaṇa exist for the destruction of Asūras (*asūrāṇāṃ vināśāya*) and that they are repeatedly born in times of war. The story of the obtaining of the Nārāyaṇa-weapon (vii, 195f.) is based on this legend. The pharse *pūrva-deva* occurs in i, 224, 3 : *nara-nārāyaṇau yau tau pūrva-devau vibhāvasau| samprāptau mānuṣe loke* (i.e. = Arjuna and Vāsudeva) *kāryārthaṃ hi divaukasām||* ; in i, 228, 18 : *vāsudevārjunāvetau......| nara-nārāyaṇāve tau pūrva-devau divi śrutau||* ; in viii, 10, 41 (*pūrva-devau mahātmānau* = A and V) etc. In viii, 200, 58f. Nārāyaṇa is said to have performed austerities for 66,000 years, and then for twice that period at the Himavat. He thus became Brahman (*brahma-bhūtaḥ*), beheld the supreme deity Śiva, to whom he recited a hymn and obtained boons. From the austerities, we are told, was born a great sage, Nara, who was equal to Nārāyaṇa himself and who is none other than Arjuna. In iii, 41, 35, Arjuna himself is called *pūrva-deva*.—S.K.D.]

Origin of the name Pañcarātra, given to the system.

On the origin of the name Pañcarātra[1] given to the devotional religion of the Nārāyaṇīya, the suggestion is tempting that it connects itself with the *pañcarātra sattra*, lasting over five days, which the mythical Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa is reported in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xiii, 6, 1) to have performed for obtaining exclusive supremacy; but it must be admitted that there is no direct evidence to support this connexion. In the Epic we are told (xii, 339, 110 f.) that the Pañcarātras only intensified the cult introduced by Nārada, which must be the doctrine explained by Nārāyaṇa to him;[2] and in this view the Pañcarātras would be identical with the Nārāyaṇīyas or Ekāntins. In the list of names which Nārada utters in praise of Nārāyaṇa (xii, 338, 4), the latter is called *inter alia Pañcarātrika.*[1]

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[1] The system is called Pañcarātra and its followers Pañcarātrin or Pāñcarātrika, but sometimes both the system and followers are known as Pāñcarātra. In the Epic, the word, usually in the form Pañcarātra, is almost exclusively used for the system or doctrine (xii, 218, 11; 335, 25; 339, 111; 349, 1; 349, 64; 349, 68; 349, 72).

[2] The other statement that the Pañcarātras derive their doctrine from the sun need not seriously affect this tradition. The same thing is also said of the Bhāgavatas. The statement, however, is qualified in the Epic itself by the other statements that the sun, in the form of Sūrya or Vivaśvat, was, like Nārada, only one of the many recipients and communicators of the religion, but that it came ultimately from Nārāyaṇa himself. This view about the sun being the recipient of the religion may have come in after Viṣṇu, originally a Vedic solar god, was accepted in the cult as the supreme deity, or it may have been due to the influence of the Saura sects or solar cults, whose independent existence is mentioned in the Epic. The complex Epic sectarianism was elastic enough, and did not disdain conscious or unconscious contamination, for even Śiva becomes a form of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and plays a part in the mythology of the Nārāyaṇas or Pañcarātras. That the intrusion of solar myths does not prove that the religion itself was originally or at any time a form of sun-worship has already been emphasised by us above.

But the origin as well as the precise meaning of the term is really obscure. Various strange etymologies[2] have been suggested; but they are not only instances of misplaced etymological ingenuity but are also obviously late concoctions to explain the actually obscure or forgotten origin of the name. F. Otto Schrader, who has made a special study of the later Pañcarātra Āgamas, mentions[3] what he thinks to be a more reliable explanation (though given in the apocryphal *Nārada-Pañcarātra*) that the expression Pañcarātra refers to the five (pañca) principal topics or kinds of knowledge (*rātra*)[4] treated in the system or the texts, viz., reality (*tattva*), liberation (*mukti*), devotion (*bhakti*), yoga (*yaugika*) and the objects of sense (*vaiṣayika*), although none of the accepted texts of the school strictly conforms to this ideal division. But the explanation, though less fanciful, is obviously a suitable afterthought. Schrader, on the other hand, seems to support our suggestion that the term is to be ulti-

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[1] Nīlakaṇṭha explains the phrase as "one who is attainable by the scriptures of the Pañcarātras (*pañcarātrāgama-gamya*). On the epithet *pañca-kāla-kartṛpati* employed in this connexion see S. K. De, *JRAS*, 1931, p. 415 who maintains that Pañca-kāla = Pañcarātra as the designation of the cult.

[2] Such as (i) the night (*rātra*) = obscuration of five (*pañca*) great śāstras, viz., Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Bauddha, Ārhata and Kāpāla or Pāśupata, (ii) the śāstra which puts to death (*pañcatva*) other śāstras, just as the sun makes the night (*rātri*) die, (iii) the system of cooking = destroying (*pañc*, from root *pac*, to cook) the night (*rātri*) = ignorance, (iv) the system which takes its name from the five sacraments (branding etc.) or five daily observances (*abhigamana* etc.). See A. Govindacarya Svamin in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 940f; Schrader, *Introduction to Pañcarātra*, Adyar (Madras), 1916, pp. 22, 24.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 24f.; also quoted in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 941.

[4] The word *rātra* (or more correctly *rātri*) here, as Schrader explains, which originally meant 'night', came by some mysterious train of thought (or is it because the doctrine was thought to be esoteric and secret?) to mean both a cardinal doctrine of the system and a chapter or work dealing with the doctrine.

Probable connexion with the mythical Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's Pañcarātra-sattra.

mately connected with the passage in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xiii, 6, 1) where the word *pañcarātra* occurs with reference to Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's continuous sacrifice for five days.[1] This would also explain the epic connexion or synonymity between the Pañcarātras and the Nārāyaṇīya Ekāntins, as well as the name Pāñcarātrika given to Nārāyaṇa himself in the Epic and the Purāṇas. But Schrader would like to give a more doctrinal trend to the interpretation by connecting it with the theory of "Manifestation," and suggesting (chiefly on the authority of *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*) that "the sect took its name from its central dogma, which was the Pañcarātra sattra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as the fivefold manifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Arcā forms." This suggestion accords well with the doctrines that prevailed in the later development of the school,[2] but unfortunately we possess no early texts to confirm it.

The religious system of the Ekāntin or Pañcarātra,

Who were the Ekāntins or Pañcarātras, and what was the character of their theology, said to have been promulgated by Nārāyaṇa himself as an expression of a *bhakti*-religion? Even if their origin which is lost in obscurity may have been different, it is clear that the equation Pañcarātra = Ekāntin is established without question in the Epic.[3] Whether these names are conterminous with Sātvata and Bhāgavata we need not discuss at present; but there are passages mainly at the end of the Nārāyaṇīya section (xii, 348, 29 and 34) which say twice that the religion is followed by the Sātvata, and another which says that Uparicara-vasu, Nārāyaṇa's early devotee, followed the Sātvata rule (xii, 335, 19); while the term Bhagavat and direct reference apparently to the *Bhagavad-gītā* are also not absent in the account. The original records or scriptures, consisting of "a hundred thousand excellent ślokas" of the Ekāntins or Pañcarātras, referred to in xii, 335, 27 f. and in xii, 339, 110 f., if they ever existed, are not available. Our knowledge of the cult is derived chiefly from the Epic, but the Epic account is greatly overlaid with mythical, legendary and adventitious theosophical matters. There is also the possibility of this account being a somewhat later "Brāhmaṇised" version of an originally independent popular faith. It is difficult to disentangle the pristine form of the cult from these embellishments, but it is highly probable that the cult in its origin was non-Vedic, and that the form in which it is set forth in the Nārāyaṇīya would indicate that, compared with the more or less systematic doctrine of the *Bhagavadgītā*, it represents a less developed and less coherent form of the religion, which has not yet emerged from its mythical and legendary surroundings. The teachings of the two texts, however independently they may have originated, ultimately formed, as emphasised in the Epic itself, the doctrine of one religious body (xii, 346, 11 ; xii, 348, 8 and 53); but they possibly belonged to different sections of the same church, or perhaps represented an earlier and a later tradition respectively of one popular religious movement, diverging in many particulars but agreeing at least in one essential.

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[1] Cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[2] The Vyūha doctrine, however, is old and is found in the Nārāyaṇīya.

[3] The connexion with Kāpileya or the epic Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine and the declaration that Pañcaśikha was a teacher of the Pañcarātra system (xii, 218, 11) only emphasise the close alliance of the two systems on the philosophical side, and nothing more. The so-called Sāṃkhya-Yoga or the Pañcaśikha scheme, as set forth in the Epic, has little inner connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya faith; on the contrary, they are contrasted in many points, inspite of mutual contamination.

possibly embodying an earlier tradition than Bhāgavatism.

(*To be continued*)

MRINAL DASGUPTA

MISCELLANY

“Gaṅgā” in Ceylon and India

In connection with the definition of “the boundary marks” “of waterlogged waste lands, pertaining to the right of entrance” of the “Āśrama-Vihāra” “dedicated to Ārya Avalokiteśvara,” the recently discovered Gunaighar Grant of Vainyagupta[1] refers to the Ha-(?) cātagaṃgā. The words “paścimena Ha-(?)-cātagaṃgā” signify that the river Ha-(?)-cāta formed the western boundary. The editor, Mr. Bhattacharya, renders it by “stream” and points out that this sense is still conveyed by the word “gang” (gāṅg ?) in Eastern Bengal.

I may note that it is not the only epigraphical instance of Gaṅgā meaning a stream. The inscription of Vainyagupta is dated 188 G. E. (current).[2] In the Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II who belonged to the Pratihāra Dynasty,[3] we find that at least seven grants to different deities by several personages are consolidated in one record.[4] All of these, however, are “in favour of the shrine attached to the monastery of Harirṣiīśvara.” The Partabgarh Inscription bears the date 1003,[5] *i.e.* 946 A. C. The notable point for our present purpose occurs in the eleventh line of this inscription. The words “Kā-(hiṃ)kyāṃ Gaṅgāyāṃ snātvā” cannot but mean “having bathed in the “Kā(hiṃ)ki” or “Kā(hiṃ) kí” river.

The average North Indian, however, means by the “Gaṅgā” the particular river Ganges which waters his homeland. The Bengali Hindu however alters his interpretation when the Gaṅgā enters his own province. To him the Ganges at Benares, for example, is certainly the Sacred River, but he usually attaches no great sanctity to the Padmā in Eastern Bengal. The Hughli, or the Bhāgirathi is *the* Gaṅgā, so far as he is concerned. But the Ādigaṅgā which waters a part of Calcutta is also believed at least locally, to possess a high degree of sanctity. The word means "the earlier Ganges."

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, March, 1930, pp. 53-56.

[2] The editor accepts the views of Mr. Pathak who takes it to be equivalent to 506 A.C. (p. 47).

[3] *E. I.*, XIV, pp. 182-184.

[4] There is a similar instance in the Vaśiṣṭha Temple inscription on Mount Abu (*I. A.*, II, p. 256).

[5] *E. I.*, p. 184, l, 13.

This North Indian interpretation can also be supported by epigraphic passages. The verse of Yaśodharman's Mandasor Inscription[1] runs as follows :—

Ā Lauhityopakaṇṭhāt tālavanagahanopatyakād ā Mahendrād
Ā Gaṅgāśliṣṭasānos tuhinaśikhariṇaḥ paścimād ā payodeḥ /
Sāmantair yasya bāhudraviṇahṛtamadaiḥ pādayor ānamadbhiś
Cuḍāratnāṃśurājivyatikaraśabalā bhūmibhāgāḥ kriyante /

The Gaṅgā in this verse refers unmistakably to the particular river. In the Untikavatika Grant of Abhimanyu who belonged to that Rāṣṭrakuṭa House, which did not use the Garuḍa, but had the Lion with open jaws and a protruding tongue as their crest,[2] we find another verse which runs as follows :—

yasyānyabhūmipatibhir vvijitā (bh) imānair-
ucchrāyivaṃśanihitās svayaśaḥpatākā/
dṛṣṭā ciraṃ pratidinaṃ nanu dṛśyate ca
gaṅgeva puṇyasalilā purataḥ pravṛddhāḥ//[3]

The "yasya" refers to the grandfather of the reigning king Abhimanyu. The Gaṅgā here again undoubtedly stands for *the* river of Northern India. The inscription is assigned "on palaeographical grounds to approximately the seventh century A.D."

In the Hindol Plate of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Śubhākaradeva,[4] we find "Gaṅgeṭijoṭāraddhasrotasā" etc.[5] in connection with the definition of the boundaries of the grāma called Noḍḍilo which was conveyed to the use of Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka.[6] Pandit Binayka Misra has recently edited that inscription. Pandit Misra is of opinion that Noḍḍilo is "distinctly identical with the village Naṇḍelo now lying in the Hindol State". The modern principality lies to the north of the Mahānadī and the town of Hindol lies close to the south-eastern border of Angul between the Mahānadı and the Brāhmaṇī rivers. The village of Noḍḍilo therefore does not seem to have been situated anywhere near the sacred river of Northern India. The stream is very probably a local one. Orissa is a "massif-block", and it is not probable that the course of *the* Gaṅgā stretched so far south, only a thousand years back.

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[1] *C.I.I.*, vol. III, no. 33.

[2] *E. I.*, VIII, p. 165 and 166. The lion, as shown in the plate facing p. 164, is indistinct. Indraji however took it to be such in 1883 A.D. (*J.R.A.S.*, vol. XVI, p. 90).

[3] The last visarga is wrong.

[4] *JBORS*, March 1930, pp. 77 to 80.

[5] L. 40.

[6] Ll. 18 to 21.

Several rivers in Ceylon have "gaṅgā" (pronounced gāṅgā) as parts of their names. One of these is the Kelánigaṅgá (pronounced Kelyānigāṅgā) about eightyfour miles long, from its source to its mouth. It takes its name from the district of Kelāniyā by which it flows, and gains its importance from its proximity to the modern seat of government, Colombo. There is a local tradition that the Buddha came to the town of Kelāniyā where a large stūpa dedicated to him exists to this day. A certain sanctity is associated with this river, because the Buddha is supposed to have bathed in it. The Kálugaṅgá is another river which flows through the Western Province. It meets the sea where the town of Kālutārā (commonly pronounced Kālcurā), which gives it its name, stands. The Gingaṅgá which waters the Southern Province, takes its rise from the Goongala Range, and after a course of fifty-nine miles meets the sea close to the modern port of Galle. The Nilwalagaṅgá which comes from Urubokka mountain, situated about four miles to the south-east of Dehiyāya, the Walawegaṅgá which joins the sea at Ambalanota, the Māgamagaṅgá and the Kataragāmagaṅgá which lie to the east of the Walawe are the other notable rivers of the Southern Province. The Mahāwaligaṅgá is the longest of the rivers of the island. It meets the Ambangaṅgá which rises close to Mātale, and flows by the town bearing the historic name of Nālandā.

It divides itself into two streams the Kurugalagaṅgá and the Virugalagaṅgá, when it enters into the Eastern Province. No sanctity is attributed to the waters of the Mahāwaligaṅgā. The Menikgaṅgá which is about eighty-one miles long, has for its source the Namunukulā Range. Its mouth lies to the east of Hambantota.

It is evident from the above that "gaṅgá" in Ceylon means a river.[1]

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[1] Kālidása, uses Gaṅgā in the sense of the sacred river in many passages. See *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto XIII, verses 9, 10 and 57; canto IV, verses 32 and 36.

It is not my purpose to come to any definite conclusion here, beyond pointing out that North Indian epigraphical instances from the period beginning with the fourth, and ending in the tenth century A.C. favour both the interpretations of the word "Gaṅgā", and that another evidence of the intimate cultural contact of Simhalese Ceylon with North India lies in the geographical use of that word in this Island.

J. C. De

An early supporter of Shivaji

Kānhoji Jédhé, deshmukh of Bhor, in the Puna district, came over to Shivaji's side during the latter's contest with Āfzal Khān (1659) and with his own contingent fought the Maratha king's battles right manfully in various places for many years afterwards.[1] The chronology (*shakāvali*) kept by this family is one of the most valuable sources of early Maratha history. Their home is the village of Kāri some ten miles from the town of Bhor, in the territory of the Sachiv one of the *sardārs* of the Puna district. During a visit to the place in January 1930, I discovered the following *farmān* of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, sultān of Bijapur, issued to Kānhoji Jédhé on 7th Jamādi-us-sāni 1054 A.H. (=1st August 1644).

Kāri is situated in the heart of the Māval country. This tract was in one sense a frontier district of the Nizām-Shāhi kingdom of Āhmadnagar. When that dynasty was extinguished, it passed into the hands of 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (about 1636), but it was long before the new sovereign's authority was fully recognised there. The Jédhés had been originally retainers of Randaula Khān, and continued to find in him their master and protector after the district came under 'Ādil Shāh's sway. At first the new sovereign gave the fief of the Jédhés to a Muhammadan female (of Kaliān ?), but on appeal the Jédhés got it back, evidently through the mediation of Randaula Khan (about 1637-8).

From Randaula's service they were transferred to the contingent of Shāhji Bhonslé, who was a lifelong friend of Randaula.

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[1] See Jédhé Chronology as tr. by me in *Shivaji Souvenir*, ed. by Sardesai (1927), pp. 1—44.

The present *farmān* is of great importance as throwing contemporary light on the activities of Dādāji Kond-dev and giving the exact dates of the Maratha acquisition of Kondāna (Singh-garḥ) and Shābji's rupture with Bijapur.

TEXT OF THE FARMAN[1]

فرمان همایون شرف [صدرر یافت بنام کانهوجی نا یک جدهی]

از شهور سنه اربع اربعین الف چون شاهجي بهونسله از مردودان درگاه والا جاه گشته و داداجی کوند دیو متعلق او که در طرف کندانه است - جهت دفع و رفع کردا , ر او ر] بقبض در آوردن آن ولایت عزت و رفعت دستگاه شجاعت و شهامت اشتباه عمدة ا ل [امثال] والا قران لایق المراحم و الاحسان سجعه الاهالی و الاعیان زبدة القبایل و الاخوان کهندرجی و باجي کهوپریان را با وزرای عظام تعین فرموده شده است - باید که او [معه] احشام خود نزد مشار الیهما آمده از استصواب مشار الیهما داداجی کوند دیو مذکور و متعلقان آن حرام خوار را گوشمال داده نیست و نابود سازد - آن ولایت را بقبض و تصرف در آورد که باعث سرافرازی اوست - تا داند[2] تحریرا فی التاریخ هفتم شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ١٠٥۴

بسم اعلی

پروانگی حضور اشرف اقدس

Translation

This auspicious rescript [is issued in the name of Kānhoji Nāyak Jédhé], in the *Shahur san* 1044. As Shāhji Bhonslé has become one of the enemies [*lit.*, rejected, reprobated] of this august Court, and Dādāji Kond-dev, his supreme agent, is [campaigning] in the region of Kondāna,—therefore, for the purpose of putting a stop to [his] activity and gaining possession of that country, [long titles] Khandoji and Bāji Khopḍé have been appointed to accompany [our] grand nobles. It is proper that he [*i.e.*, Kānhoji Jédhé, also with] his contingent (*āhshām*) should go to the aforesaid persons, and with their co-operation [*lit.*, advice] punish and reduce to nothing the said Dādāji Kond-dev and the associates of that base fellow [*lit.*, eater of unclean food],—and bring that region into possession,—so that it may result in his [= Jédhé's] being exalted. Know it to be urgent. Written on 7th Jamādi-us-sāni, year 1054.

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[1] The paper has cracked in some places, but the missing words can be easily supplied. They are enclosed within square brackets.

[2] تاکید داند

In the name of the Most High.[1]

Parwānah of his honoured and sacred Majesty.

JADUNATH SARKAR

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[1] May be an error for "In the name of 'Āli,"—whose name was cut on the seals of the Bijapur sultans.

The "Webbed finger" of Buddha

Discussing this subject in I.H.Q. for December 1930, Mr. Banerjea defends the view of Foucher, that the *jālalakkhaṇa* originally referred to lines on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, and that through the misinterpretation of a technical device of the sculptors (intended to prevent the fractures of the fingers of stone images), it later came to be regarded as implying a webbing or membrane connecting the digits. There is much to be said for this view, but against it may be cited the facts (1) that the palms and soles of the Buddha, as Mahāpuruṣa, were said to have been marked with a *cakka*, and are so represented in very many sculptures of an early date, and it is not likely that another *lakkhaṇa* referred to other lines in the same places, and (2) as pointed out by Stutterheim, in a discussion on the problem in Acta Orientalia, VII, 232 ff., (overlooked by Mr. Banerjea), the word *jāla* is employed by Kālidāsa in the *Śakuntalā*,[1] with unmistakable reference to the thin lines of rosy light which may be seen between the fingers when they are in contact, and the hand is held up against the light. These two objections make it very difficult to accept the Foucher-Banerjea interpretation *in toto*.

My solution would be to accept the definite statement of Buddhaghosa, that the *jālalakkhaṇa* did not refer to a webbing between the figures (and Mr. Banerjea is probably right in saying that Buddhaghosa deliberately begins with this statement, having in view the already existing images with this physical peculiarity indicated), but that the fingers were "of one measure" (*ekappamāṇā*) "like the latticed window made by carpenter" (*vaḍḍhakinā-yojitajāla-vātapāna*), in other words, that the fingers were straight and regularly formed; another *lakkhaṇa* tells us that they were long.

Buddhaghosa's reliability has already been demonstrated in so many cases once considered unintelligible or mistaken (e.g. in the matters of the *hatthi-nakhakaṃ ālinda*, or that of the officiating of the king's eldest son as Pariṇāyaka, where his interpretations have been

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[1] Incidentally, it may be noted, that the "hand" described by Kālidāsa is evidently the *padmakośa hasta* of the works on *Abhinaya*, and that this *padmakośa* hand would certainly have been employed by the actor at this point in playing the part.

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shown to be correct. In the present case, his explanation gains plausibility from the fact of its correspondence with the usage of *jāla* in the Śakuntalā; in the simile of the window we meet with the same idea of lines of light seen between parallel opaque bands, fingers or wooden rods as the case may be. The *jāla*, then, does not imply "webbing" or any abnormality, but simply a perfection of form demonstrated by the appearance of the reddish lines of light that may be seen between the parallel fingers when the hand is held up to the light. But observe that such lines are only in fact regularly disposed (like the spaces between window bars) and evidently seen when the fingers are regular (*ekappamāṇā*) as well as delicate and long (which other *lakkhaṇas* require); if the joints are swollen, there will be places where the fingers are too closely pressed together to allow of the passage of any light at all, and other spaces where the fingers are not quite in contact, and only clear daylight can be seen between the fingers. Hence the *jālalakkhaṇa* implies after all nothing but a perfection of form of the fingers, such as might be looked for in the hand of the Mahāpuruṣa. If, as seems probable, a later misinterpretation arose, originating in the sculptor's device, this is only a parallel to what happened in the case of *uṇhīsa-sīsa* which originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban", and later came to be regarded (perhaps also by misinterpretation of images) as "having a cranial protuberance". It is not altogether surprising that a later age should have thus interpreted as miraculous abnormalities what had once been simple and intelligible matters; for the tendency to develope the miraculous elements in the Buddha legend is a well-recognised one in the corresponding literature.

Thus, I am on the side of Foucher and Banerjea as to the fact of misinterpretation based on the sculptor's device; but on the side of Stutterheim as to the original meaning of the word *jāla* as used in the *lakkhaṇa* lists.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

A few Evidences on the Age of the Kathāvatthu

(i) *Tradition*

We have to depend mainly on the Ceylonese tradition for ascertaining the time of composition of the *Kathāvatthu*, one of the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The tradition[1] tells us that the controversies embodied in the *K. V.* took place at the Third Buddhist Council, convened in the 17th regnal year of king Aśoka. The compilation of the book too, was, it is said, made at the same time by the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, and was included in the Canon among the seven Abhidhamma treatises. Buddhaghosa in discussing the authority of the *K. V.* makes a statement in his *Atthasālinī*[2] to the effect that Buddha himself laid down the table of contents (mātikā) of the *K. V.*, and while doing it he foresaw that more than 218 years after his demise (*mama parinibbānato aṭṭhārasavassādhikānaṃ dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ matthake*) Tissa, son of Moggalī, being seated in the midst of one thousand bhikṣus, would elaborate the *K. V.* to the extent of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, bringing together 500 orthodox and 500 heterodox suttas. The tradition further informs us that Moggaliputta Tissa persuaded king Aśoka to despatch Buddhist Missions after the conclusion of the Council.[3] This statement refers, therefore, to a time when the

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, (P.T.S. edition), ch. V, p. 55; also *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 110.

[2] *Atthasālinī* (P.T.S. edition), p. 8.

[3] The *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p. 113) corroborates this tradition and further tells us that soon after the close of the Third Buddhist Council under the presidentship of Moggaliputta Tissa it was found necessary to select those places in the border countries (paccantimesu janapadesu) where the teachings of the Master, if promulgated, were expected to endure long. Tissa, accordingly, selected nine centres to each of which he despatched a leading member of the order to establish the doctrine. The monks who were entrusted with the task were :—Majjhantika for Kasmīra and Gandhāra; Mahādeva for Mahiṃsakamaṇḍala; Rakkhita for Vanavāsi; Yonakadhammarakkhita for the Aparāntaka; Mahādhammarakkhita for the Mahāraṭṭha; Mahārakkhita for the country of the Yonakas; the thera Majjhima

Buddhist Missions were not yet organised under any royal patronage for the dissemination of the truths of Buddhism in regions outside the Middle Country.

(ii) *Geographical extent of Buddhism*

Here we shall try to examine whether the above traditional account can be corroborated by any internal evidence. In Book I, the 3rd point of controversy is that there was no holy life among the gods (N'atthi devesu brahmacariyavāso'ti). In course of the controversy the opponent of the orthodox school maintains that among the gods there is no Buddhist mode of holy life, the form of life which is regarded holy by the Buddhist recluses, because it is not till then introduced among the inhabitants, godly or otherwise, in the regions outside the limit of the Middle Country, i.e., in the 'Paccantima-janapadas'. He contends that as yet there can be no initiation or *Pabbajjā*, in places lying beyond the geographical limits of the Middle Country (Majjhima-janapada), referring thereby to the godly inhabitants of Uttarakuru and the Mlecchas of other places. From this it is evident that Buddhist missionary work was restricted up till the time of the *K.V.* within the territorial limits of the Middle Country, i.e. to say Buddhism was not yet propagated in India outside the Middle Country as defined in Buddhist literature.

(iii) *Attempts to check Schism*

The fact of the disruption of the Buddhist Church into various schools also affords some evidence for ascertaining the time of composition of the *K. V.* According to the commentator of the *K. V.* the Buddhist Order in India had been, in course of the 2nd century after Buddha's demise, divided into 18 schools. This is confirmed by both the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa*[1] and

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for the regions lying near the Himalayas ; and Soṇa and Uttara for the Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Not long after Tissa found in Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, a young and worthy disciple capable of carrying the doctrine to Laṅkā. It is interesting to note how each of these theras succeeded to turn the minds of the people in their respective localities and convert them into Buddhism.

[1] *Dīpavaṃsa*, ch. V.

the *Mahāvaṃsa.*[1] Prof. Rhys Davids[2] has discussed this matter at some length and is inclined to believe that the number of schools was not eighteen but six or seven on the ground that the *Kathāvatthu Cy.* and the inscriptions on Buddhist topes as well as the records of Yuan Chwang furnish us with six or seven names. We cannot dismiss the traditional account as to the number of Buddhist schools prevalent in the 2nd century after Buddha's demise as unreliable on the ground that the *K. V.* and the Buddhist topes noted above are lacking in mentioning the names of the 18 schools, as it is not a sufficient proof of the non-existence of those schools. It is not strange that Yuan Chwang while giving an account of the 7th century A.C. should state the names of a few Buddhist schools, because the different schools which arose in the course of the 2nd century after Buddha's demise might afterwards have been either swallowed up, one by the other, or some of them disappeared being unable to withstand the opposition from rival schools. So in the absence of any better evidence to prove the contrary, we cannot disbelieve the traditional account of the Ceylonese chronicles. Here our point, however, is to show that though scholars may not agree as to the number of schools, there is no doubt that the Buddhist Church was divided into a few schools during the period under consideration.

This fact is corroborated by Aśoka's Schism Pillar Edict engraved in his 21st regnal year. The task of the *K. V.* being mainly to state the various theses put forward by the leading opponents of the Theravāda School, and to refute each of them from the view-point of the latter, it is evident that its purpose in view was indirectly the same as that of the Schism Pillar Edict of king Aśoka, viz., to put an end to the disruptive elements which threatened the orthodox school at that time. In view of the common object of the two writings, the P. E. and the *K. V.*, it may be said that they were productions of about the same period.

(iv) *Traces of Mahāyānic Influence*

There are, no doubt, in the *K. V.* a few topics (e.g., iv, 1, 7; xviii, 1-4; xx, 2; xxi, 4-6; xxii, 1-3, etc.), which prove that some of the early Mahāyānic doctrines were known to the compiler. This, however, should not lead us to put the date back, because long before the growth of Mahāyāna, the Mahāyānic ideas and doctrines were already current among some of the early Buddhists, especially, the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots.

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa* (P.T.S. edition), ch. V, p. 29.

[2] *Buddhism*, pp. 195ff.

Thus an examination of some of the materials of the *K. V.* and the Aśokan edicts shows that the compilation of the *K. V.* was made, at least in part, somewhere in the reign of king Aśoka.

DWIJENDRA LAL BARUA

The Age of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa

The evidence of the Maṇimekalai

V. A. Smith has examined the views of Wilson, Pargiter and others about the age of the Purāṇas in general and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in particular.[1] He has shown that independent testimony assigns a much higher antiquity to the Purāṇas, which is earlier than the 4th century B.C.

Independent proof of the existence of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in the early centuries of the Christian era is supplied to us by the Tamil classic the *Maṇimekalai*, the composition of which is generally assigned to the second century after Christ.[2] In a discourse at the assemblage of Vañji with teachers of different persuasions, Maṇimekalai was addressed in turn by the Vedāntin, the Śaivavādin, Brahmavādin, Viṣṇuvādin, the Ājīvaka teacher, the Nirgrantha, the Sāṃkhya philosopher, the Vaiśeṣika expounder, and lastly by the Bhūtavādin. In this content we come across a line in which 'one versed in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa' (*Kaḍalvaṇan Purāṇamodinan*, *Ibid.*, II, 98-99) is mentioned.

Traditionally the *Bhāgavata*, the *Nāradīya*, the *Garuḍa* and the *Viṣṇu* are regarded as Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. It seems to me that the reference here is only to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The expression *Kaḍalvaṇan* is an epithet of Viṣṇu, meaning literally 'the god having the colour of the sea'. It may be pointed out in passing that the word Viṣṇu is foreign to the *Śaṅgam* literature, and whenever that God is mentioned, the epithets employed are *Tirumāl*, *Kaḍalvaṇṇan*, etc. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the term here stands for Viṣṇu and the whole phrase for the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.* It points to the practice in vogue in the ancient Tamil land when the traditional Purāṇas, considered to be the fifth Veda, were read and expounded. For a Purāṇa to be read and expounded it must have been popular for a considerable time. As the *Maṇimekalai* is a composition of the second century A.D., it can be reasonably assumed that the major portion of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* existed perhaps in its present form from the commencement of the Christian era at the latest.

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[1] See *Early History of India*, 4th edition, pp. 22-23.

[2] See author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 73-76.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

More on Maṇimekhalā

I

Siam

On my request H. R. H. Prince Damrong of Siam, whose work in the field of archæology ought to be known by every scholar interested in Buddhism, had an inquiry made in Siam about the goddess Maṇimekhalā. Here is the important note he compiled, as it reads in its original English form. It will be seen that, as it could be expected, Siam and Cambodia agree perfectly well on this subject; Cambodian Buddhism has been for several centuries under the predominant influence of Siam.

"Maṇimekhalā[1] is known to the Siamese both through the Pāli Jātakas and the indigenous literature.

In the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Mahānipāta) and Saṅkha Jātaka (Dasanipāta) she is represented as the goddess of the sea appointed by the gods to rescue good men who may be shipwrecked.

The Siamese Rāmāyaṇa, composed anew[2] in the reign of king Rama I (1783-1809 A.D.), says that Maṇimekhalā is the goddess of the sea and lives in a place studded with gems, and relates a story about her which may be summarised as follows :—

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[1] "Maṇimekhalā" is also shortened in usage into "Mekhalā".

[2] Archaeological finds show that the story of Rāmāyaṇa must have come to Siam not less than five hundred years ago.

Once at the advent of the rainy season, the gods and goddesses were dancing together. At the time a Yakṣa named Rāmāsūr, armed with axe and bow and living in the clouds, passed by where they were dancing. When he saw Maṇimekhalā's gem, he wished to have it and chased her. Mekhalā eluded him after dazzling his eyes by directing the rays of her gem into them and leaving him grope in the dark, and mocked at him. Rāmāsūr got enraged and threw his axe at her. But it was averted from her by the supernatural power possessed by the gem. Meanwhile Arjuna who lived upon the Cakravāla mountain came flying between Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr. Rāmāsūr got enraged, saying Arjuna crossed his path, and killed him by dashing him against the Sumeru mountain. Sumeru was thus made to lean on one side and Śiva had it set upright by Sugrīva.

The Siamese Rāmāyaṇa also helps us to identify Rāmāsūr and Arjuna mentioned above by narrating other incidents of their lives, namely, (1) Rāmāsūr fought with Rāma when the latter was returning home after marrying Sītā. Rāmāsūr was defeated and forced to surrender his bow. (2) While Daśakaṇṭha (Rāvaṇa) was staying with Ṛṣi Goputra as the latter's pupil, Arjuna had a quarrel with him. So Arjuna carried Daśakaṇṭha off as prisoner and flew around exhibiting his victim's helplessness before the world, but released him later on at the request of Goputra. So, in his book *On the sources of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa*, H. M. the late king, Rama VI, identified Rāmāsūr with Rāma Paraśu (Paraśurāma of the Purāṇas) and Arjuna with Arjuna-Kārtavīrya, a king of the Haihayas, who was slain by Paraśurāma, and explained that the Siamese call Paraśurāma an "asūra" by confusing the word "nyakṣa" (meaning "low," an epithet given to Paraśurāma because, although a Brahmin, he was irate and fierce) with the word "yakṣa." Thus the episode in the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa summarised above, appears to be a fusion of a story from the Jātakas and the Purāṇas.

There is, however, a tradition current among the people even now that Mekhalā creates lightning by swinging her gem about and that Rāmāsūr creates thunder with his roars and the thunder-stroke by hurling his axe. This gives rise to the theory that Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr are merely lightning and thunder personified. The history of the word "Arjuna" as the designation conferred on men holding a particular office of state, serves to explain why there is an Arjuna associated with the deities of thunder and lightning. Formerly the designation was Phya Deba Varajun. Later it was changed into Phya Deba Prajun and then again into Phya Deba Arjun. Thus it will be seen that there has been a confusion between "Arjuna" (Pāli "Ajjuna") and Pajjuna (Skt. "Parjanya, god of rain) after they have been transplanted in a foreign country. Probably Mekhalā, Rāmāsūr and Arjuna are old Siamese deities connected with the rain who formerly had Siamese names but were renamed when the Siamese were converted to Buddhism and came under Indian influence. Failing to meet any Indian tradition that explains the phenomena of rain in the same terms as the folklore of Siam, the aim in renaming would have been restricted to equating the old Siamese deities of the rain with gods or heroes of India bearing some amount of resemblance to the former. It must have been thus that the story of Mekhalā of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa has come to look like a piece of patch work.

The close relationship between Mekhalā, Rāmāsūr and Arjuna and the rain is made further clear by these three personages forming the characters of the "Ra-bam." The Siamese ballet called "Ra-bam" is an ancient form of entertainment at which, ten men on one side and ten women on the other, dance to the accompaniment of music. Formerly it must have been a society diversion like the balls and dances of Europe. Afterwards it became the practice to employ professionals to dance at night when there are religious rites. Since in Siam agriculture forms the chief occupation of the people, religious rites are performed before the rainy season in order to ensure good rainfall and the story of Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr has been adapted to the dances usual in these rites.

Mons. Nicolas, who has given a summary of the Maṇimekhalā episode (Rāmāsūra and Maṇimekhalā ; Arjuna's death ; Mount Meru set upright again ; Bali's perjury) in his complete analysis of the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa (Extrême-Asie, Saigon, no. 19, Jan. 1928, p. 301), has also collected in Siam some pictures of Mekhalā which will be shortly published in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Paris.

II

Ceylon and Burma

Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon, who had contributed a very important paper, *Mahāyānism in Ceylon*, to the Ceylon Journal of Science II, 1, December 1928, has lately published in the Ceylon Literary Register, third series, I, 1, January 1931, a short, but substantial paper on the goddess, Maṇimekhalā (p. 37-38), which he has kindly sent me. He notices there two references to Maṇimekhalā that escaped me: one is found in the *Rājāvaliya*, a Sinhalese historical work of the 17th century (Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Boston Museum, has also drawn my attention in a private letter to the same reference). It is told there how Vihāradevī, the mother of the Sinhalese national hero Duṭṭhagāminī, was offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the sea-gods, and how she was safely brought by the goddess Maṇimekhalā across the sea to Māgama where she found her future husband."

"The other reference is contained in a non-canonical Pāli work entitled *Chakesadhātuvaṃsa*. This book, in its present form, is of no distant date; but there is reason to believe that the legends it contains are very old. Most probably they are of South-Indian origin, for one of the six stūpas (referred to) is said to have been founded by Tamil (Damila) merchants." So far Mr. Paranavitana; but the editor of this booklet, Prof. Minayeff says expressly (Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1885) that this *Chakesa* "is a work by a modern Burmese author, of unknown name and date"; the two mss. used by the editor were Burmese. The *Chakesa* relates how Buddha gave over to six of his disciples Anuruddha, Sobhita, Padumuttara, Guṇasāgara, Ñāṇapaṇḍita, and Revata six hair-relics which they brought to Southern lands and had them enshrined in six stūpas. One of those was erected by Maṇimekhalā. Here is a translation of the chapter (JPTS., pp. 10-11) concerning this stūpa:

"There is a place on the sea-shore, all covered with Asoka-trees, and the western side of this is surrounded by a glen. Seeing this, all these (six) holy men reflected: Well, how shall we find in such a place a person to look after the relic? Then the venerable Padumuttara said to the other five holy men: 'I shall look for a maintainer of the relic.' He formed a resolution with the following stanza relating to Buddha's virtues:

'If you, the first in all the worlds, have been an ascetic in order to save the beings, let my prayer be successful through your power! May I find today a donor for a thūpa of the hair of the Jina!'

While he was praying in these words, a guardian of the sea, Maṇimekhalā by name, daughter of a god, appeared owing to Buddha's power, with all her ornaments, surrounded by many attendants. She came out of the sea in a perceivable form. And the theras told her: 'It is fitting, o lay female-devotee, to have a thūpa built for the relic. If you are able, then be the maintainer of the relic of the 'bull among the men, the incomparable one'!' Then she thought: 'I belong to the female sex; how can I obtain knowledge of the planning of the thūpa? He said: If you, O lay-female-devotee, can give wages to the neighbouring people, they will quickly build a cetiya. 'All right,' she said, and in disguise she went thither, and she gave wages and had a cetiya erected. Those people made on this spot a dagoba eighty feet deep. The daughter of the god then made a heap of the jewels collected from various places by her supernatural power; and then she brought from the Vepulla mountain one block of jewel, shining like a lamp and similar to the jewel of a Cakkavatti, and placed it within the relic chamber made of jewels, putting the relic-casket on the top of the jewel. While it was being placed, the earth quaked, lightenings flashed out of season, and there was a pleasant rainfall. All gods cheered. Maṇimekhalā, having paid her homage to Bhagavā's relic, had the cetiya closed. After closing it, the cetiya being completed, she uttered the following stanza expressing her wish:

May the dagoba of the Jina endure five hundred years,
Through your power, may beings know the place of No-death!

Having spoken thus, Maṇimekhalā set and erected the thūpa of the hair. Then the goddess, bowing to the feet of the Arahantas, with a pious mind went away and entered her own palace.

III

French Indo-China

A French lady, Madame Marcel Pascalis, living at Hanoi (Tongking), has prepared a paper on Maṇimekhalā, specially in Indochinese lore, in which she has collected some more information about the goddess; she has secured a Cambodian drawing, representing Maṇimekhalā as well as a photograph of Maṇimekhalā's dance. The paper will appear next autumn in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*.

All these new documents go to show that Maṇimekhalā's own domain is, as I had stated in my first paper, "that region of the ocean which extends from Cape Comorin to the marvellous El Dorado of the Far East". While the Tamil country, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia afford so many evidences of her long notoriety there, nothing has come as yet to be found concerning her beyond this zone of earth and water. My dear P. C. Bagchi, whom I have to thank for translating, and so well, my first paper from the French original, has pointed out to me an interesting counter-proof. The *Mahāvastu*, which was certainly compiled in the Northern part of India, has a tale of a shipwreck (III, 353-356) where are found several features appearing also in the Pāli jātakas I have quoted. A *samudra-devatā* here also comes to the rescue of the Bodhisattva and his fellow-merchants about to be drowned; she repents that she has so long neglected her duty of watching over the sea (*mayaṃ pramattavihārā* in the prose redaction, p. 355, l. 1; *mamedaṃ na viditaṃ pramattāye*, 365, l. 5); but the sea-deity remains anonymous. The compiler is writing beyond the pale of the goddess Maṇimekhalā.

SYLVAIN LÉVI

Maṇimekhalā

In the folk-lore of Ceylon the Sea-goddess is called Mūdu Maṇimekhalāva. A ballad relates "that Devel Devi was born in the Vaḍiga land whence he sailed for Ceylon with followers of many races in seven ships laden with various things, especially bangles. The ships being wrecked they drifted about for seven days; then a stone raft was made which carried them swiftly to Ceylon, aided by the sea-goddess Mūdu Maṇimekhalāva and the four guardian gods". Another ballad narrates that when Anaṅga escaped in the form of a bee, Śiva with his third eye in the centre of his forehead burned Umā to ashes, which he threw into the ocean, repented and ordered the goddess of the sea Mūdu Maṇimekhalāva to restore her. She feigned inability; and to punish her Śiva drank up the sea. Again he bade her restore Umā. She promised to obey if he would again fill the ocean which he did. She then created an image of Umā which he rejected. At length she took the ashes of Umā which she had kept in a vase, shaped them into a figure of Umā upon a banana leaf and brought it to life. Thus Umā was restored to Śiva".[1]

ARTHUR A. PEREIRA

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[1] *Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folk-lore from Ballad Sources*, Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 45, pp. 20, 61 and 99.

Derivation of Pāli

Though the texts of the Buddhist Canon known as "Pāli" have been fully studied and utilised for purposes of history, it is somewhat worthy of note that the meaning of the word 'Pāli' is not yet clear and its derivation is obscure. Recently Dr. Thomas makes the observation in regard to the subject, "let us have some evidence one way or the other, and we shall be all the better able to do justice to the other matters in this important essay," commenting on a theory of interpretation proposed by Dr. Walleser.[1]

The term as it is ordinarily understood is "Pāli," and means a 'series,' 'row' or 'line.'[2] Based on this general meaning Childers gives in his *Dictionary* the rendering of the word as a "series of texts." Where "Pāli-bhāṣā" is mentioned, it is taken by him to mean "the language of the (Buddhist) sacred texts" and not as "Pāli language." Thus a language known as "Pāli" is not so far recognised.

Dr. Walleser going against accepted authority points out that there was a language known as "Pāli" which he says belonged to Magadha from where it was taken to Ceylon. He derives the word in an indirect way from Pāṭali or Pāṭaligrāma where "the bhikkhus assembled soon after the death of Buddha."[3] "Pāli" is, according to him, the language of Pāṭaliputra. He finds further that the meaning of the word "Pāli" as given by Childers has to be rejected as "there is a spelling in Ceylon Mss. with cerebral ḷ, which makes the derivation highly improbable."[4]

The question to be answered is, what is the original word—"Pāli or Pāḷi." The current view is that "Pāli" is more closely allied to the "Prākṛt" of Ceylon but the discovery by Dr. Walleser of "Pāḷi"

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[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Dec., 1928, pp. 773 ff.

[2] It has also the meaning "dyke" (ditch, pit or cave). Vide Prof. Macdonell's *Dictionary* under "Pāli".

[3] This along with a few other points raised by Dr. Walleser has been questioned by Dr. Thomas.

[4] The sense of "line" or "row" is not precluded however merely by the fact of the word being "Pāḷi" instead of "Pāli", for "Pāḷi" persisted in the Malayāḷam language in the sense of "line" or "row", e.g., *kiḍakkayil pāḷi* (*pāḷi*=rows or compartments of a *kiḍakka*—bed).

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in some Ceylon Mss. raises the presumption that this may be the original term. It is worthy of note that the cerebral ḷ is commonly met with only in the Dravidian languages of South India; and it is therefore not very surprising to find the form "Pāḷi" as a variant of "Pāli" only in Ceylon. It appears in Tamil in another form "Pāḻi," which in the old Tamil lexcon, the Piṅgalandi *Nighaṇṭu* is rendered as "munivar vāsam" (dwelling place of *munis*).[1] It may be also equated with the word "paḷḷi" one of the synonyms given in the *Nighaṇṭu* itself, which is met with in expressions like "paḷḷi-aṛai" (bed-chamber), "paḷḷi-koṇḍa Perumāḷ" (the deity in the recumbent

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[1] Instances are quite common where ḷ is used in Dravidian languages for ḻ which is found only in Tamil. A few examples may here be given :—

Tamil-Malayāḷam	*Kannaḍa*
Puḻa (river)	huḷe.
paḻaya (old)	haḷaya.
ēḻu (seven)	ēḷu.
maḻai (rain)	maḷe.
pāḻu (waste)	hāḷu.

The interchange of ḷ and ḻ in Tamil may be found in examples like :

Coḻa—Coḷa.
Tamiḻ—Tamiḷ.
pugaḻ or pugaḷ—fame.
pavaḻam or pavaḷam—coral.
Īḻam or Īḷam—Ceylon.
paḻam or paḷam—fruit.
kēḻ or kēḷ—hear.
uḻundu or uḷundu—pulse,

Instances where cerebral ḷ appears in South Indian vernaculars for l in Sanskrit may be noted in the following, among others :

kāla becomes kāḷa—dark.
phala „ paḻa or paḷa—fr
kalabha „ kaḷapa (old Tamil)—young elephant.
dhavala „ tavaḷa (do.)—white.
valaya „ vaḷai—bangle or ring.
pravāla „ pavaḻa or pavaḷa—coral.
sthala „ taḷa or daḷa—place.
khila „ kiḷai—branch.

posture) and in the "paḷḷi" (mosque) of the Mussalmans (particularly the Moplahs of Malabar) in South India.[1]

It is interesting to find that the word "Pāḷi" occurs in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of South India,[2] written in characters similar to those found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, assigned by Bühler to at least the 3rd century B.C. These inscriptions are met with either on the natural walls of caves or on the rocky beds found in them. No other meaning of the word "Pāḷi" seems possible in these cases than "residence of munis" (monks) or "beds for them to rest on." "Pāḷi" would therefore mean a cave, and this interpretation does not militate against the meaning "dyke" given to the term "Pāli" by Macdonell. The conclusion seems warranted that the name "Pāli" may have been derived from the South and originally used to denote the language met with in these caves or the beds in them. "Pāli" is probably only a variant of the South Indian forms "Pāḷi," "Pāḻi" or "Paḷḷi."[3]

It is hoped that this short note may answer the query raised by Dr. E. J. Thomas, "what does the spelling with cerebral ḷ prove?" It will also indicate that the spelling "Pāḷi" may have been the original one, as found in the early Prākṛt of South India and Ceylon. The meaning here given might set at rest also any necessity for a theory of a possible confusion of the word "Pāḷi" with "Pāli" meaning line, as conceived by Dr. Thomas in his note.

S. V. VISWANATHA

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[1] In these cases "paḷḷi" either means "bed for lying on" or a "place for prayers".

[2] The word "pāḷi" occurs thrice in these inscriptions and has perhaps to be distinguished from "kāvi" and "lena" which are other words met with in them to denote a "cavern". One point of difference between the caves in Ceylon and those in South India is that in the latter are found beds, while the former do not contain any. Perhaps this fact may lead to the conclusion that "pāḷi" meant "a cave with a bed in it".

[3] The original and better form of the word would appear to be "Pāḷi".

Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra

I read with interest Mr. M. Ghose's note on "Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra" in the issue of March, 1930 (vol. 6, No. 1) of this Journal. I wish to put forward a doubt in accepting his views. He upholds that (i) "the Nāṭyaśāstra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is palpably a badly made table fitted to the text in a still worse manner, (ii) the word Bharata meaning naṭa has not been derived from any person of the same name and an enquiry seems to point to a reverse process, (iii) the disappearance of the Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva was probably due to socio-political circumstances of the age that followed Pāṇini, and (iv) Śilālin and Kṛśāśva were the earliest known writers of any Nāṭyaśāstra or the text book for the naṭas."

Though in Pāṇini (iv, 3, 110 and 111) we find mention of the Naṭasūtras or text-books for naṭas, ascribed to Śilālin and Kṛśāśva, the mere mention of the term naṭa does not lead us to any conclusion, because Pāṇini, in his exhaustive works, is silent as to the definite significance of the term naṭa, nor any effective evidence as to the existence of drama in his time is found. We are, therefore, according to Dr. Keith's opinion, "in no position to establish the meaning of the term naṭa", as it might have existed then. In like manner, the mere mention of the 'curious' names, without any external support, is far from being sufficient to prove their authorship of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Mr. R. N. Śāstrī, in this connection, remarks :—

"Pāṇini, in his works, has not made any intentional or avowed attempt to reflect the whole human society and its institutions as they existed in his days or were known to him. But he has made occasional observations only in course of the relevancy, rather under the necessity warranted by his subject. Therefore, even his silence about Bharata's śāstra, or, for the matter of that, the mention of the Naṭasūtras of the two particular teachers made by the way, can hardly count or be adduced as a cogent reason to prove or disprove anything in connection with the tradition that Bharata was the first writer on dramaturgy."

His third argument seems to make a reasonable justification for the disappearance of the alleged Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva. "Should we wonder then", the writer remarks, "if under these circumstances Nāṭyasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva did, owing to a sheer disuse for a long time, go out of existence at a time when the earliest version of

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the Nāṭyaśāstra was made. ? To justify this "disuse for a long time" Mr. Ghose suggests that after Śilālin and Kṛśāśva (whom he places about a century earlier than Pāṇini ?) there came the reign of the Maurya emperors who deliberately made their best attempts to disparage such performances. Kauṭilya, as is clear from his Arthaśāstra, was deadly against encouraging naṭas and similar people, and often called them as "objects of constant suspicion on the part of the statesmen, who exploited them as spies and tolerated them as ugly tools". This is true, no doubt ; but the Arthaśāstra was written specially for a prince, and we find, therein, no record of the attitude with which it was received by the people in general ; nor, in any of the extant contemporary works, do we find anything regarding the feelings with which the Arthaśāstra was looked upon by the public ; and to think, therefore, that the disparagement of dramatic and parallel performances was "a natural outcome of Kauṭilya's writings", can be said to be no more than mere conjecture. On the other hand, it may be tentatively suggested that Kauṭilya, being averse to such performances, might have made deliberate efforts to suppress them. Thus it seems plausible that the drama, in some form or other, might have attracted people in general, so much so that it began to horrify Kauṭilya, a wise minister, who looked upon it as an impediment to enforce stability to his patron's reign. This is sufficient to show that it had attained—not only a definite form, but also a universal appreciation in those times.

The drama seems to have existed even in Buddha's time.[1] The Lalitavistara also refers to this art.

Aśvaghoṣa's dramatic fragments are enough to bear testimony, not only to its mere existence, but also to its wide-spread popularity ; so much so that with a view to promote Buddhism and to bring down the Brāhmanical sway, he betook himself to the measure of writing dramas. The use of Sanskrit, as opposed to Prākrit, in his dramas is sufficient to warrant an establishment of its definite form in his time, for Aśvaghoṣa himself, being a strong Buddhist, would never have thought of deliberately introducing Sanskrit. The Buddhists always encouraged the use of vernaculars, as opposed to Sanskrit, for a universal appreciation of their religion and ideas. But Aśvaghoṣa had to write his dramas in Sanskrit to gain popularity. This was the stage achieved by the drama in the time of Kaniṣka. All these arguments are sufficient to enable us to trace a continuous and constant development of the drama in the Mauryan times and thereafter. Mr. Ghose has a kind of support from the terms such as nacca, dassana and pekkhā; their mention strengthens his conclusion that the primitive Buddhists were averse to arts like naccagītavāditāni. No drama, therefore, in his opinion, seems to have existed then. But as Dr. Keith has already shown, this argument is far from being sound. "We see, however," he says, "that the objection of the sacred Canon to monks engaging in the amusement of watching these shows, whatever their nature, was gradually overcome, and it is an important fact that the earliest dramas known to us by fragments are the Buddhist dramas of Aśvaghoṣa." Moreover, the very mention of such terms leads us to decide that the drama was extant in that age (for other arguments, see Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*). Furthermore, we may say that the Buddhists of that time did not form the entire society, i.e., there were people who took interest in the drama.

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[1] See *Sanskrit Drama* by Dr. A. B. Keith, pp. 43, 44.

Mr. Ghose takes it to be a well-known fact "that the naṭas who belonged to the Śūdra-class were to the orthodox society a much despised people." Those people, who appreciated this art, are, in the main, according to his views, responsible for having made the untrustworthy legend which makes Bharata the eponymous hero of the drama. Bharata was a famous legendary name, and it made the business of the legend-maker easier. This seems to have been deliberately done, in his opinion, to give it an air of antiquity.

But this argument is not sound. If the appreciation of dramatic performances is mainly to be ascribed to the heterodox society, the orthodox people of that time would have raised strong objections with a view to bring down the attempts of those who wanted to glorify it to the level of the Vedas (e.g. Nāṭyaveda). The opinion of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras, if recorded at all which Mr. Ghose does not do, may be proved to have gained ground in a different time far from that in which the *Nāṭyaśāstra* originated. The strong oppositions of the primitive Buddhists and Jains are sufficient to testify the attributions of its origin to the orthodox religious society; and, therefore, the legend seems not to have been deliberately made to promote its level as the heterodox people could not have had any connection with it.

The plausible view, with regard to the contradictory opinions found in the Buddhist books, is this. In the beginning the Buddhists seem to have raised strong objections against it, but as it began to

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invoke wide appreciation and attract the attention of the entire society, the Buddhists betook themselves to write dramas with a view to propagate their religion. Thus Aśvaghoṣa's plays make their appearance.

In the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa we find a remarkable peculiarity ; its close accordance with the rules of the Nāṭyaśāstra in all the points, rarely to be found in any other of the extant dramas, leads us to decide that the rules, as given in the Nāṭyaśāstra, must have been definitely established in his time. The upper limit that can be allowed to the Nāṭyaśāstra is the second century B. C. This is sufficient to show that the drama might have obtained definite form and the necessity for its rules might have been felt then. This gave rise to the appearance of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and thus a due limit to the precedence of the drama should be at least a century, or even two, before the time when the Nāṭyaśāstra was written. Thus also we can trace its existence in the Mauryan and Kusāṇa times, and thus no break in the continuity of its existence seems reasonable. There is not the slightest possibility, then, to see "the disuse for a long time," as Mr. Ghose observes.

I hesitate to believe with Dr. Keith that the drama must have come into being so late as in the second century B.C. or about that time. I am convinced that the age of the origin of drama should go earlier by at least a century, or even two, than this time. Thus it receives a striking accordance with the Mauryan times, and there are sufficient positive proofs of its existence then. Since then we are able to trace a continuous developments in its performances, and no explicit mention of the influence of Kauṭilya's writings is recorded. Śilālin and Kṛśāśva might have been the ancient writers of some Naṭasūtras, but as no such writings have reached us, besides their mere mention, and as any definite information regarding their authorship is lacking, they are, to us, no more than mythical names. Consequently we are left to no other alternative but to attribute the origin of the drama to Bharata. The Nāṭyaśāstra is, of course, of a later origin, but the legend seems to have gained ground since earlier times.

Harihar V. Trivedi

On a Few Technical Terms in the "Hindu Revenue System"

In the course of his review of my *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* in the January number of the *J.R.A.S.*, (pp. 165-166), Dr. L. D. Barnett, while expressing his general appreciation of the work, has thought fit to differ from my interpretation of a number of technical terms and a couple of passages from the classical authors. In view of the difficulty of the subject it seems desirable to consider these criticisms with some care.

I

Uparikara

The two terms *udraṅga* and *uparikara* signifying as many distinct kinds of revenue are found side by side in scores of Ancient Indian land-grants, but they have hitherto baffled any satisfactory explanation. In my work under notice I had suggested for them the meanings 'tax on permanent and temporary tenants respectively.' Dr. Barnett disagrees with these explanations, but overlooks the threefold argument which I adduced (*H.R.S.*, pp. 210-211) in favour of the same. He identifies *uparikara*, curiously enough, with the Tamil *mel-vāram*, i.e., 'the Crown's share of [the] produce' while he is unaccountably silent about the meaning of *udraṅga*. Admitting it to have the merit of novelty, Dr. Barnett's explanation of *uparikara* may be shown to be wrong on the following grounds :—

(1) The Ancient Indian land-grants have other and distinct terms to signify 'the Crown's share of the produce.' The most common of these are *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiraṇya*, which I have shown in my work to mean the king's share of the produce in kind and in cash respectively. Very often the *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiraṇya* are included with the *udraṅga* and *uparikara* in the list of privileges assigned to the donees by the authors of the grants (cf. *H.R.S.*, pp. 218, 235, 238, 240-241, etc.).

(2) A grant of Balavarman (one of the old kings of Assam who has been approximately assigned to 990 A.C.) couples the officers charged with collection of the *uparikara* and those charged with the *utkheṭana* impost in a list of oppressors who are forbidden to enter the donated land. Two grants of Ratnapāla (1010-1050 A.C. ?) and one of Indrapāla (1060 A.C. ?)—both of whom belong likewise to the old

royal dynasties of Assam—similarly include the *uparikara* and the *utkheṭana* in a list of 'oppressions' from which the land in question is to be exempted (*H.R.S.*, pp. 247-248). Other instances of the same kind mentioned in these three records are concerned with the royal princes and favourites, the persons fastening elephants and mooring boats (evidently in the State service), the officers charged with tracking thieves and the arrest of criminals. Evidently, then, the *uparikara* was not a regular item of revenue like "the Crown's share of the produce," but was an irregular tax which bore harshly upon the cultivators.

II

Setu

Dr. Barnett writes, "His [Ghoshal's] rendering of *setu* as 'gardens and fields owned by the king' seems unlikely : may not *setu* rather be a sort of water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs ?" This statement is unsatisfactory for more reasons than one. In the first place it is not a fact that *setu* as such was 'rendered' by me into the 'gardens and fields owned by the king'. What I wrote with reference to this term in the passage to which Dr. Barnett refers (*H. R. S.*, p. 108) was as follows. "It is called embanked reservoir which is defined [by Kauṭilya] as consisting of flower-gardens, fruit-gardens, vegetable-gardens, rice-fields and fields producing other crops. Evidently the term was used in a technical sense to indicate the gardens and fields owned by the king". It will be seen that my 'rendering' of the term is in precise accordance with the definition as given in the Arthaśāstra itself. Dr. Barnett has forgotten to notice the difference between the ordinary and the technical sense of *setu* in the Arthaśāstra. Coming to Dr. Barnett's own rendering of *setu*, we have to observe that it is contradicted not only by the definition of Kauṭilya to which reference has been made above, but also by his use of a distinct revenue-term *udakabhāga* for "the water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs" (see *H. R. S.*, pp. 31, 33, 290).

III

Bhūmicchidranyāya

Yādavaprakāśa's definition of *bhūmicchidra* as *kṛṣyayogyā bhūḥ* has hitherto been held to prove that the clause *bhūmicchidranyāya* of the Ancient Indian land-grants implied the gift of the full right of ownership such as is acquired by a person making barren land cultivable for the first time (Cf. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 74; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 90). In dealing with the latter term, I followed this current explanation which I held best to suit the sense. Dr. Barnett now suggests a fundamentally different interpretation making it mean 'with reservation of the king's right to eject [the tenants] at his will'. This would make the grantees holding lands according to the *bhūmicchidranyāya* not proprietors but merely tenants-at-will. Dr. Barnett's explanation may be shown to be unsound on the following grounds :—

(1) Neither the definition in Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* nor the *Bhūmicchidra-vidhāna* section of the *Arthaśāstra* tends 'naturally' to prove the correctness of Dr. Barnett's rendering. The former gives only the general meaning of *bhūmicchidra*, but fails to throw any light upon the significance of the maxim relating thereto. The latter, while doubtless describing "the royal conversion of forests and wildernesses into grazing grounds, retreats for Brāhmaṇas, royal parks and the like", contains nothing to show that the Brāhmaṇas or the occupiers of grazing grounds *e.g.* were liable to ejection at the king's will. The true meaning of the maxim can be found out by comparing (as Bühler and Jolly have done) Yādavaprakāśa's definiton with the rules and maxims of the Smṛtis relating to the right of the first clearer, and the seizure of unclaimed property.

(2) The clause *bhūmicchidranyāya* is attached to the endowments granted by kings and ruling chiefs in favour of Brāhmaṇas, temples and the like. Very often these grants contain another clause, viz. that they are to last as long as the sun and the moon shall endure, with the most solemn appeals of the donor to later kings to respect the gift. Frequently such appeals are fortified by quotations from the Mahābhārata (the so-called "imprecatory verses"), of which the following may serve as specimens :—"Whoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or another, incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, but the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to an act of confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell" (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 242). Indeed the Smṛtis again and again set forth the sinfulness of resuming the gifts to Brāhmaṇas. A unique example of a land-grant

made to Brāhmaṇas in effect on the conditions of loyalty and good conduct is the Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II (*H.R.S.*, p. 195), but even there the donor is careful to include the clause that the king will not be guilty of theft in the event of his resuming the grant for violation of the conditions by the donees.

IV

The question of ownership of the soil

Dr. Barnett with genuine pleasure claims to have found in me a whole-hearted supporter of his long-cherished view that "in ancient India the Crown owned the land". In doing this he has done scant justice to myself. Not only did I expressly mention in the Preface my intention of reserving a full consideration of this difficult question for my forthcoming Calcutta University Readership Lectures, but I also indicated in the body of my present work whenever the topic came up for mention, the limitations with which the doctrine of the ownership of the king could be accepted. (See *H.R.S.*, pp. 169-170, 192, 226). Thus in connexion with Megasthenes' statement about the royal ownership of all lands, after indicating the evidence for and against it, I wrote the following words (*Ibid.*, p. 170). "On the whole we are inclined to think that the comprehensive statement of Megasthenes was a rash generalisation from certain tendencies of development of the land-tenures that had already begun to manifest themselves".[1]

V

The land-revenue passages in Strabo and Diodorus

Megasthenes' account of the land-revenue conditions in Maurya India, which is given in connexion with his description of the caste of husbandmen, has come down to us principally in two parallel versions, those of Strabo and Diodorus. The first of these versions, according to the very recent rendering of Monahan (*Early History of Bengal*, p. 142) whom I followed in my work, stands thus: "The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce." Dr. Barnett confidently asserts this to be an "ancient blunder," and proposes to correct the last clause as follows: '"they till it on condition of paying one-fourth of the produce as rent." Unfortunately for Dr. Barnett's self-complacence his version is at complete variance with that of other recent scholars whose rendering agrees with that of Monahan. We may instance Bernhard Breloer, the author of an interesting series of Kauṭalya-studies, who translates the clause as follows: "Als Lohn bearbeiten Sie es um den vierten Teil der Fürchte" (*Kauṭalīya-Studien*, I, p. 52). In the most up-to-date and authoritative English version of Strabo's Geography in the *Loeb Classical Library* series, the passage in question is translated as follows (*Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 69): "The whole of the country is of royal ownership and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce." Here we have a fresh alternative translation which agrees only in part with Dr. Barnett's version. But in the footnote to the above the translator writes, "Perhaps the more natural interpretation of the Greek would be 'the farmers cultivate it for wages on condition of receiving a fourth part of the produce', whether 'wages' and 'fourth part' are appositional, or 'on condition of' means, as it might, 'in addition to'. But Diodorus Siculus says, 'The rentals of the country they pay to the king...but apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury." Here we have the important admission that the translation in the foot-note (which, it will be observed, agrees completely with Monahan's version) is the more natural one, while that given in the text (which, as before observed, partly supports Dr. Barnett's rendering) is wholly due to the assimilation of the corresponding passage of Diodorus. In any case it follows from the above quotations that the extract of Strabo is capable of being translated in a variety of ways. Till the meaning of this extract is clearly established by discussion among competent scholars, it is obviously premature to hold with Dr. Barnett that Monahan's version is "absolutely wrong."

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[1] Dr. Barnett's opinion on the point under notice is on a par with his characterization of a printing-mistake (duly corrected in the list of additions and corrections in my work) as "very unhappy".

With regard to the corresponding extract from Diodorus, Dr. Barnett comments as follows, "Diodorus is also misunderstood by Messrs. Monahan and Ghoshal; the true meaning is very skilfully explained by Dr. Breloer in his *Grundeigentum in Indien*, a work which throws some valuable light on the subject." Now this criticism is no doubt justified with regard to Monahan's writing. But it is altogether contrary to the truth in my own case, for I not only quoted but commented on Breloer's improved translation in the context just mentioned (*H. R. S.*, pp. 168-169) immediately after giving the version of Monahan. Comment is superfluous.

VI

Sītā, kṣāra, kalyāṇadhana

The first two terms occur in the Arthaśāstra as technical titles for as many items of revenue. In the *Hindu Revenue System* (pp. 274ff. and p. 90) reasons were shown for translating the first as 'produce of the king's farms' and as 'sugar' respectively. Dr. Barnett declares his dissatisfaction with these interpretations, but as he neither gives his reasons nor suggests any alternative explanation, it is impossible to meet his objections. For the present it will be sufficient to state in my favour that '*sītā*' is defined in the Arthaśāstra itself as comprising all kinds of crops that are brought in by the *sītādhyakṣa*, an officer whose functions practically make him equivalent to the royal steward (for references see *H. R. S.*, pp. 29-32). The rendering of *kṣāra* as 'sugar' is supported by the explanation of Ganapati Sastri (*kṣārah guḍavikrayī*) and J. J. Meyer's translation 'Zucker.' As to the term *kalyāṇadhana* which occurs in the land-grants of the Haihayas of Cedi and the Paramāras of Malwa, I left its meaning unexplained for want of evidence. Dr. Barnett now suggests for it the meaning 'marriage-tax', but his argument which is based 'on the analogy of the South-Indian inscriptions' is too vague to be depended upon.

U. N. GHOSHAL

The English Translation of the Kauṭilīya

The publication of the third edition of Dr. R. Shamashastry's English translation of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* is an index to the great demand of the reading public for an acquaintance with the contents of one of the most important documents brought to light in recent years. The existence of this demand as well as the importance of the document itself makes the task of the translator all the more onerous, because the creeping in of errors can mislead thousands of readers. It becomes specially regrettable, if the blemishes be of such a nature as could have been avoided by the application of a little more energy and labour. When the translation first came out in the Mysore Review (1906-1908) and in the Indian Antiquary (1909-1910) in instalments, and was published in book-form in 1915, the scholars appreciated the industry with which the pioneering work was done by the learned translator, removing many great difficulties which could have been encountered by any one who would have attempted to understand the text unaided. The readers in their eagerness to have a translation in their hand were then ready to make a large allowance for the inaccuracies that could not be removed. A perusal of Dr. S.'s prefaces to the 1st and 2nd editions of the translation shows that he was well aware of the existence of inaccuracies and obscurities which he could not remove but which he had a mind to eliminate by consulting the available commentaries discovered since the publication of the 1st edition of the translation. When the 3rd edition of the translation came out in 1929, Dr. T. Ganapati Shastri's illuminating Sanskrit exegesis written with the aid of three old commentaries was available. Moreover, since 1909 when the text of the *Kauṭilīya* was first published, scholars began to apply their minds to the interpretation of the text and bring out books and dissertations treating of the various aspects of the subject-matter of the treatise. In all these publications, light has been thrown on many passages which had been misinterpreted in the translation. Dr. S. does not appear to have taken the pains to avail himself of the results of the labours of these scholars. He has even ignored suggestions for correction made for instance by Dr. Ganapati Sastri in his Preface (p. 2) to the first Part of his edition of the *Kauṭilīya*. Says he, "I obtained a copy of it (Dr. Shamasastry's English translation) in order to see whether it would be of any use to my edition. But it seemed to me that many passages were not correctly translated. For example :

मर्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्यानमात्यान् वा य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयुः ।
छायानालिकाप्रतोदेन वा रहसि प्रमाद्यन्तमभितुदेयुः । (I. 7)

After giving general instruction in regard to some of the duties of Kings, Kauṭalya mentions in the above passage the supreme duty of making Ācāryas and Ministers a barrier, as it were, of the Kings. The meaning of the passage is that a King should appoint, as a barrier, either Ācāryas or Ministers who would boldly and effectively check him whenever he shows inclination to stray away from the path of righteousness. Here, Kauṭalya gives expression to a noble conception of Government, the *summum bonum* of the subjects, namely, a King, though he has control over all his subjects, should appoint certain persons who would keep him under control. Mr. Shama Sastri has taken the passage in quite a different sense. He renders it thus : 'those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling a prey to dangers, and who, by striking the hours of the day as determined by measuring shadows warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret shall invariably be respected'. I do not see how this meaning was made out. If the word मर्यादा is taken as meaning 'respect' in Sanskrit as it does colloquially in Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, those who study the *Arthaśāstra* will not grasp the real meaning and perceive the noble conception of Ācārya Kauṭalya."

There are many such blemishes in the translation, some of which will be pointed out in this note. There are such errors as have not only vitiated detached passages, but have rendered useless whole chapters. Such errors could have been avoided, if, as already stated, Dr. S. had undergone the necessary labours of making his translation correct by taking due note of the light that could be forthcoming on many portions of the *Arthaśāstra* from the writings of scholars who are engaged in the investigations regarding the *Kauṭilīya* and the ancient Hindu administrative system.

I take up the Seventh Book in view of its importance the portion of the treatise where inter-state relations have been dealt with. Sometimes, the misinterpretation of a term which occurs several times in one or more chapters has led to the repetition of the errors vitiating whole passages and sometimes whole chapters. I shall now point out some of these errors in the order of the chapters of the VIIth Book :—

Bk. VII, 1. At page 263 (text, 2nd ed.), K. points out only the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a sovereign in the adoption of one or more of the six courses of actions, viz., sandhi, vigraha, āsana, yāna, saṃśraya, and dvaidhībhāva. Dr. S. has translated the passages enumerating these chief conditions in such a way as to mislead an unwary reader into thinking that each condition is the only determining factor in regard to the connected course of action. For instance, he has translated *abhyuccīyamāno vigṛhṇīyāt* into 'whoever is superior in power shall wage war.' The emphasis laid on the term 'whoever' leads one to have the impression that whenever a sovereign acquires power, he must wage war with a weak sovereign to bring him under submission whether there be any cause for conflict with him or not. That such an impression is wrong can well be seen by a reference to such passages as *hīno'pi vigṛhṇīyāt* (one should enter into hostility even if he be inferior in strength —*K.*, p. 269), *hīno 'py abhiyāyāt* (one, though inferior in strength, should march against the enemy—*K.*, 270) and also by such passages as "………*jyāyān api sandhīyeta*"(………even a strong king should enter into a *sandhi*—*K.*, p. 269), "………*jyāyān api saṃśrayeta*" (………even a strong king should take to *saṃśraya*—*K.*, p. 270). It is much to be regretted that Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India* (4th ed., pp. 146, 147) bases his conclusions regarding inter-state relations of the time of Candragupta Maurya on the misleading translations of passages like the one cited above without caring to draw correct inferences after taking into account the combined effect of all the passages in the *Kauṭilīya* bearing on the points.[1]

VII, 2, p. 267. *Chidreṣu praharet* has been translated as "he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself." Here the utilisation of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder.

VII, 3, p. 268. 'Guṇābhiniveśa' in the heading of the chapter cannot be taken to mean 'character.' It means the adoption of the Guṇas or courses of action.

VII, 4, p. 272. In the first paragraph of the Ch., K. explains the variants of Āsana viz. *sthāna*, *āsana* and *upekṣaṇa*. Āsana is usually resorted to in cases of equality of strength between two conflicting sovereigns. But it may happen that though the two sovereigns approximate to each other in strength, one may be slightly inferior or superior to the other. In the case of such slight inferiority, the form of āsana is called *sthāna*, while in the other case it is called *upekṣaṇa*. K. has *guṇaikadeśe sthānam*. Here guṇaikadeśa means that the requisite circumstances demanding a resort to the particular guṇa (āsana) exist partially. In such circumstances, the form of *āsana* to be adopted is called *sthāna*. Dr. S. translates the passage as "keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy, is sthāna." Here I think, it has been contemplated by Dr. S. that guṇa refers to a course of action other than *āsana* which is not the case.

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[1] See *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. XXXI (1924), p. 71.

VII, 4, p. 273. The translation of the last passage in the paragraph delineating the circumstances in which vigṛhyāsana is to be resorted to has been made as follows by Dr. S.: "Since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like myself......." The situation contemplated in the passage has been misunderstood. The meaning conveyed by it may be put thus: when the enemy is about to march *with all his forces to take away from another enemy a fertile region easily acquirable, slighting the existence of the king* who is being advised to adopt vigṛhyāsana, then the latter should take to that course of action.

VII, 5, p. 278. The passage *kṛtārthā jyāyaso* (which should be *kṛtārthāj jyāyaso*) *gūḍhaḥ sāpadeśam apasṛjet* should not be made a part of the paragraph in prose, but should be tagged on to the following verses. This misplacement of the verse is also found in Dr. Jolly's edition, but has been rectified in the Trivandrum edition. I think, the misunderstanding of the meaning of the passages is responsible for this error. Dr. S.'s translation is: (p. 307) "when the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior. Till his discharge, the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised'. The passage forms part of the suggestion meant for a king who responds to a call for combination. He should be careful in regard to certain points at the time of the division of the spoils and acquisitions after a successful completion of the operations. The passage in question mentions one such point, viz., if the king, who has called him, be of superior strength and shows symptoms of an inclination to deal unfairly with him at this stage, the latter should come away from him secretly (gūḍhaḥ) on some pretext or other (sāpadeśam); should the former be just in his dealings (śucivṛttāt tu), the latter may wait up to the last to have his share of gains finally made over to him.

VII, 6, p. 280. Sandhi has been translated by the word 'peace' not only here, but also in a large number of other passages wherever the

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term occurs. In the *K.*, however, the term has been used in two senses viz., (i) alliance which may not have any connection with war and (ii) treaty of peace after the settlement of a conflict. Hence the use of the word 'peace' without any regard to the distinctions in the implications of the word sandhi in the particular cases has given rise to many inappropriate interpretations. In the passage which, for instance, enumerates the four features of the activities in regard to sandhis (text p. 280) such as akṛtacikīrṣā, kṛtaśleṣaṇa, the term sandhi has been translated as 'peace.' But this sandhi may be an alliance concluded at a time when there is no necessity to enter into any treaty of peace to avert a disturbance of same. Moreover akṛtacikīrṣā has been translated as 'with no specific end.' The translation should be 'desire to form a new (akṛta) agreement.' The translation of the expression kṛtaśleṣaṇam should be 'strengthening the agreement already made' instead of 'peace with binding terms.' In regard to the translation of the next terms kṛtavidūṣaṇam and apaśīrṇakriyā as 'the breaking of peace' and 'restoration of peace' respectively, the use of the word 'peace' is inappropriate, because in the former case it is unduly restricted to the treaties of peace only, while in the latter, the use of the term 'peace' is out of place in view of the fact that relations with court-officials and servants are involved.

In chapter X, the heading Bhūmisandhi has been translated as 'agreement of peace for the acquisition of land.' Here the use of the word 'agreement' only would have sufficed, as otherwise the impression is created that the sandhi has something to do with war in all cases. In the translation of Bk. VII, ch. 7, paragraph 3, the passage 'when the kings of superior, equal or inferior power make peace with the conqueror' is extreamely misleading, because the use of the term 'conqueror' for vijigīṣu creates the impression as if the sovereign in question has conquered a king of superior, equal or inferior strength and that a treaty of peace is being concluded. As a matter of fact only the question of alliance for strengthening the position of the king (vijigīṣu) in difficulty is being treated and therefore the uses of both the words 'conqueror' and 'peace' are inappropriate. Vijigīṣu literally means a sovereign 'bent on conquest'. But as this desire for conquest was not peculiar to any particular king, the word should be translated by some term of colourless signification. I have used the expression 'central sovereign or state' for the purpose, because we find in the *Kauṭilīya* that the sovereign with reference to whom a particular piece of advice is being given, or with reference to whom a Maṇḍala (circle of states) is being taken into account in a particular context is looked upon as the vijigīṣu (see Inter-state Relations in Ancient India, 1920, pp. 2, 3).

VII, 7. In the second paragraph of the translation (p. 312), the reference to 'the enemy suing peace' is out of place, because in the circumstances contemplated, there is no enemy suing for peace. Hence the application of the terms 'even peace' and 'uneven peace' is also wide of the mark.

VII, 7 (transl., p. 314). In the paragraph, two classes of circumstances have been contemplated in the *K.* But the translation does not take note of these two classes of circumstances, interpreting the whole paragraph as speaking of one class of circumstances only. In the first portion of the paragraph, mention is made of the situations in which the king who has been asked by another king to help the latter is advised by K. to demand a large consideration for the help to be rendered without any reference to his position as a hīna, sama, or jyāyas king. In the second portion, the king who is in need of help is advised by K. to accede to the demand for a large consideration mentioned above in the detailed circumstances. The mixing up of the two classes of circumstances in the translation has created a confusion.[1] Moreover, the passage 'one though frequently getting immense (subsidy) from an assailable enemy of equal, inferior, or superior power, sends demands to him again and again' is meaningless. The word *bhūyaḥ* in two places in the text has been taken by Dr. S., to signify 'frequently' and 'again and again', while it means here 'large'.

The beginning of the next paragraph in the translation (p. 314) yields no cogent meaning, because it speaks of an inferior king trying to keep a superior power under him as an assailable enemy, though there is nothing in the passage to show that the superior king has become really inferior in strength on account of his difficulties. I think the text upon which this translation is based is defective and should be as that adopted by Dr. Ganapati Sastri. The first word in the passage should be jyāyān and not jyāyāṃsam. The reference to the sending of a 'proposal of peace to another' is also without any support of the text. The passage on the basis of the correction would mean that an offer of a special gain may be made by a king of superior strength adopting dvaidhībhāva to a king of inferior power to attract him into a sandhi with him with the ostensible object of facing the former's enemy (yātavyāpadeśena). There may be a sinister motive on the part of the king of superior strength to bring to book the inimical king of inferior power by crushing him after defeating his enemy, or realising from him what he has given away as consideration after the victory over the enemy is achieved.

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[1] See my article on Dvaidhībhāva in this number of the I. H.Q., pp. 257, 258.

VII, 8, p. 285. In the first paragraph of the translation (p. 315), *paropakāra* has been translated by the word misery, while the reference is to reminding a king helping the enemy of the fact that the king is really helping his own enemy (paropakāra) and not advancing his own interest at all. It is not clear from the last portion of the sentence in the translation whether the disunion that takes place is between the king making the offer of wealth and one of the allies of the invader, or, between the invader and one of his allies. The latter meaning is the one supported by the text.

For the reading *svārabdhaṃ vā yātrāsiddham vighātayitukāmaḥ* in the second paragraph of the text, the Trivandrum edition has *svārabdhāyāṃ vā yātrāyāṃ siddhiṃ vighātayitukāmaḥ* which yields a good meaning, viz., 'with a view to frustrate the success in his well-commenced march', instead of Dr. Ś.'s translation 'to frustrate the latter in the attempt of achieving large profit from well-begun undertakings'. The variant reading of *siddhim* for *siddham* in footnote 2 in Dr. S's. text suggests a partial improvement of the reading. But it has not been accepted in the body of the text.

At p. 316 of the translation, *sambandhāvekṣī* (expecting to have a matrimonial connection) has not at all been translated.

The translation constituting the third paragraph of p. 316 is obscure. The situation contemplated is as follows: If a king who has entered into an alliance with another king (marching against a yātavya) wants to recede from the alliance either to help the yātavya, or to refrain from increasing the strength of the other king who may attack him (parābhiyogāc chaṅkamānaḥ) after the operations are ended successfully, he can demand an immediate payment of his dues, or can demand a larger sum as his remuneration, which will serve to put a financial pressure upon the subjects (prakṛtikarśana), or invite other parties (mitrāmitra) to alliances with the king to rescind their agreements following the example.

In the paragraph after next, the translation of śakyārambhi is faulty.

Text	S.'s Translation.	Suggested Transl.
Śakyārambhin	Whoever undertakes tolerable work is the beginner of possible work.	One who is engaged in an operation, the completion of which is within the limits of his ability.

In the same paragraph, the translation 'without losing anything in the form of favour' is not at all faithful to the text (alpenāpy anugraheṇa kāryaṃ sādhayati). The translation should be 'accomplishes his work even with small help'.

The circumstances delineated in the next passage have been misunderstood by Dr. S.

Text	Dr. S.'s Transl.	Suggested Transl.
tayor ekapuruṣānugrahe yo mitraṃ mitrataraṃ vā 'nugṛhṇāti so 'tisandhatte.	Of the two, conqueror and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who helps a true or truer friend over-reaches the other.	Of the two kings, each helping another king, one an enemy (but now an ally) and the other a friend, the king who happens to render assistance to the friend becomes a gainer; and of the two kings, each helping another king, one friendly and the other friendly in a special degree, the king who assists the king friendly to him in a special degree (mitratara) becomes a greater gainer.

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The situation next described bearing on the assistance rendered by the Vijigīṣu and the Ari each to the Madhyama king within his own Maṇḍala has also been misunderstood as *the same* Madhyama king has been supposed to be receiving help from the Vijigīṣu and the Ari. Further, viguṇa has been taken to mean 'devoid of good qualities'. It signifies 'unfavourable' or 'turning false'.

The translation of *udāsīna* by 'a neutral king' is extremely misleading. About its correct meaning, I shall speak later in detail. I would only point out here that *Āsana* has also been rendered by 'neutrality after proclaiming war' (Dr. S.'s transl. p. 301). Apart from the fact that a contradiction is involved in the words themselves, a king taking to Āsana and the king occupying the position of Udāsīna can never be brought under the same category of neutral. Āsana consists in an outwardly calm attitude towards the enemy after the declaration of hostility, while Udāsīna is a king who has been so named in view of his being the strongest power within the first zone of the Vijigīṣu.

The use of the word defeat for *vikrama* (transl. p. 368) is without any shadow of justification. Vikrama means prakāśayuddha, kūṭayuddha, or tūṣṇīṃyuddha (see *K.*, vii, ch., 6, pp. 280, 283).

VII, 9, (transl., p. 320), Towards the end of chapter 9, the third stanza enumerating the six kinds of submissive (vaśya) friends has been grossly misinterpreted. The stanza runs thus :

sarvacitramahābhogaṃ trividhaṃ vaśyam ucyate /
ekatobhogy ubhayataḥ sarvatobhogi cāparam //

It has been translated as 'that friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend, and is said to be of three forms : one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third'. Here in the expression *sarvacitramahābhogaṃ* citra and mahā have not been translated. Further, the whole expression has been treated as referring to a single person, while it means three kinds of submissive friends. A paragraph in Bk. vii, ch. 17, pp. 311, 312 explains the meanings of all the six terms, and light could have been had from here to make the translation correct. The six kinds of friends are : sarva-bhoga, citra-bhoga, mahā-bhoga ekata-bhogin, ubhayatobhogin and sarvato-bhogin.

An attempt has been made to explain only the last three terms, but the explanation is wrong.

VII, p. 295. The heading of the chapter has been translated as 'interminable agreement'. The opening lines of the chapter show that the object of the alliance is to colonize waste lands and the heading is as a matter of fact in consonance with this object of the alliance treated in the chapter. The heading *anavasita sandhi* means 'alliance for colonizing waste lands' instead of 'interminable agreement' as interpreted by Dr. S. The derivation may be put thus: vas+kta=ūṣita, or vasita (see Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 932, col. 3); na+vasita=avasita (uninhabited); na+avasita=anavasita, i.e., uninhabited (lands) converted into a colony.

In the second sentence of the chapter *pratyupasthitārtha* and *yathoktaguṇā* have not been properly translated. So far as I understand, he takes the first expression to mean 'reaping the harvest earlier,' while it should be 'having the requisites ready at hand'. The second expression taken by Dr. S. in the sense of 'fertile land' refers in fact to lands 'having the qualities as already stated.'

VII, 12, transl., p. 327. In the comparison between various kinds of works of irrigation, omission has been made to translate *vāpa* in *prabhūtavāpasthāna* (extensive area *under cultivation*). Inasmuch as the cultivable nature of the land served by the works of irrigation forms the criterion by which their superiority is judged, the English equivalent of the word vāpa should have appeared in the translation.

While comparing the game forests containing a larger number of shy (kuṇṭha) and a lesser number of bold (śūra) elephants, reference is made in the fifth paragraph of p. 299 to the differing opinions of the Ācāryas and Kauṭilya. The connection underlying the three paragraphs devoted to the comparison of elephant forests is clear by the use of the expression *tatrāpi* at the beginning of this paragraph. Dr. S., however, ignores the reference to elephants and translates as follows:

"My teacher says that of the two countries, one with a large number of effete *persons*, and another with a small number of brave *persons*, the latter is better, inasmuch as a few persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons, whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master. Not so, says Kauṭilya, a large number of effete persons is better, inasmuch as they can be employed to do other kinds of works in the camp: to serve the soldiers in the battle fields, and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm in the timid by means of discipline and training."

VII, 13. In order to bring out the various factors that should be taken into consideration in deciding whether an attack upon the rear of an enemy should be made, two sets of three kings have been supposed and in each set one king is out for an attack upon another and a third king in each set is to attack the rear of the king out on the invasion. These rear invaders have been taken to be neighbours and therefore natural enemies, but they are for the time being in alliance for mutual benefit. The object of the chapter is the comparison of advantages derived from the rear attacks upon the kings who in their turn are invading their enemies. These advantages may not always be palpable and hence in the choice of the state against which the hostile operations are to be directed, one has more chances of acquisition of gain than the other.

In the first paragraph of the translation (p. 329) the term *saṃhatya* has been rendered by the word 'simultaneously' which does not bring out the real meaning. The Vijigīṣu (central state) and the Ari (enemy) have been taken to be in alliance aud hence the word *saṃhatya* has been used. In the later portion of the paragraph, the passage 'has to put down the rear only after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked' misinterprets the situation. The *vidhiliṅ* form *ucchindyāt* in the text here as well as in the next paragraph has been taken to convey the sense of *vidhi* (for which 'has to put down' has been used), while it should be taken in the sense of *sambhāvanā*. The use of 'only' is out of place. The situation contemplated is this: If there be two kings, one strong and the other weak, and if both are out on expedition against their respective enemies, then of the two kings who are enemies (of the invading kings) in alliance in the rear, the one who attacks the strong king becomes the gainer, because the strong king after defeating his enemy in front would have grown stronger, and consequently could have brought about the ruin of his rear enemy, if he had not been thwarted during his expedition against the frontal enemy; while the other rear enemy who attacks the weak king during his operation against the enemy in front does not make any gain, because left to himself, these operations alone would have weakened him further, leaving in him no desire to make an attack upon the rear enemy.

As a variant reading to *labdhalābha* in the text, *alabdhalābha* has been put in the foot-note by Dr. S. But as a matter of fact he has translated the latter word because of its appropriateness for which it should have been adopted in the text itself.

Cakra in the second paragraph of the text has been translated as the 'circle of states', while it means 'army'.

Transl. p. 330. The renderings of *calāmitra* and *sthitāmitra* are rather unhappy. They have been translated as 'wandering enemy' and 'entrenched enemy'. Enemies with or without forts are meant.

The terms *mūlahara*, *tādātvika* and *kadarya* have been explained in the *K.*, Bk. II, ch. 9. p. 69. They are explained as (i) spend-thrift in regard to patrimony (ii) squandering wealth soon after acquisition, and (ii) accumulating wealth by oppressing the officials and relations. But Dr. S. does not take any note of these explanations. He has translated the terms as 'extravagant, living from hand to mouth and niggardly.'

Dr. S.'s translation of the next passage, viz., 'the same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their own friends' is likely to create the impression that a king used to attack his friends' territory, though the friendship continued. That this was not the case will be evident from what has been said by K. in connection with the *mitrabhāvin*, *ucchedanīya* or *karšanīya mitras* in Bk. VII, ch. 18. The next paragraph in the translation should also be taken with the limitation mentioned above.

At p. 302 of the text, in the last paragraph, mitra has been put instead of amitra in *coddharator yo mitroddhāriṇaḥ*. In the 1st edition of the Kauṭilīya the right term appeared in the list of corrections. But in the 2nd edition the incorrect word has crept in. The translation (p. 331) has become self-contradictory, because it has been stated that 'he who attacks the rear of the former (referring to the friend = mitra) gains more advantages' which is just the reverse of what is meant.

In the second paragraph of the translation at p. 331 *alabdhalābhā*-

vagamane has been rendered as 'to enforce the payment of what is not due to them', which is altogether wide of the mark. The correct rendering is 'in the case of returning unsuccessful.'

The sentence in the text (p. 303) beginning with *yasya vā yātavyaḥ* up to *śatror vigrahāpakārasamarthaḥ syāt* is related to the previous sentence, because it describes a situation alternative to the preceding one. It has no connection with the succeeding sentence to which it has been tagged. The resulting meaning as understood by Dr. S. and evidenced in his translation is very much confused. Two sets of circumstances contemplated in the two sentences are : (i) Of the two Pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on invasion against their respective enemies, the pārṣṇigrāha of the king whose enemy is able to cause him much harm becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not have this advantage. (ii) Of the two pārṣṇigrāhas themselves, the one who possesses a larger and more efficient army, and is fighting with a fort as his base of operations (sthitaśatruḥ) or has his kingdom situated on either side of that of the king attacked (pārśvasthāyin) and is therefore near the yātavya (i.e. the yātavya of the king whose territory is invaded from the rear) becomes a gainer. The advantages enjoyed by a pārśvasthāyin rear-invader is that being near the aforesaid yātavya, he can easily combine with him and can make a raid upon the capital of the king whose rear has been attacked. The second set of circumstances described above has a direct bearing upon the pārṣṇigrāhas themselves, while in the preceding sets of circumstances, the kings attacked constituted the principal subject-matter for consideration.

In the succeeding śloka (p. 303) *sāmantāt* should be *sāmantāḥ* a variant which has been relegated by Dr. S. to the foot-note. This word has been left untranslated. Though the text mentions three classes of pārṣṇigrāhas, viz., sāmanta, pṛṣṭhatovarga and prativeśa, Dr. S. has tried to make up these three by the second and the third, taking the latter to constitute two classes, one being on each side of the king attacked, though as a matter of fact they constitute only one class.

The misleading translation of the term udāsina as already pointed out has been repeated here (transl. p. 331).

Dr. S. translates *pārṣṇigrahaṇābhiyānayos tu mantrayuddhād abhyuccayaḥ* as follows : Of attacks from the rear and front, that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (mantrayuddha) is preferable'. The translation ought to be 'In rear as well as frontal attack Mantrayuddha brings about increase of strength.' In the text the next two sentences have been put within inverted commas as the opinion of the Ācaryas. The opinion should, however, include the sentence referred to above. This sentence makes a statement in support of which the next two sentences put forward the reasons.

VII, 13, p.304. Dr. S.'s translation of the second paragraph is incorrect. It should be as follows: 'When in war, the expenditure in men and money is apparently the same, the king who first of all engages the recalcitrant portion of his army in the fight by which its destruction takes place, and next, i.e., when the likely source of internal trouble viz. the recalcitrant portion of his army is destroyed, utilises the submissive portion of his army in the fight, he becomes a gainer (as compared with the king who does not do so).

The next sentence also is wrong. It seems that he has taken *dūṣyabala* and *vaśyabala* of the text for 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy'.

The translation of the śloka that comes next is utterly wrong. It runs thus: 'when an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together, then the conqueror should adopt the following policy'.

It should be: 'when the Vijigīṣu happens to be in the position of either the rear-invader (pārṣṇigrāha), or the invader (abhiyoktṛ), or the king invaded (yātavya), he should thus conduct the operations (naitram etat samācaret)'. The misconception about Vijigīṣu is, I think, responsible for the mistranslation. Vijigīṣu should not be translated as conqueror. I prefer the expression 'central king' (or the central state), because he (or it) forms the central point with reference to which deliberations are carried on in the particular context. Here the fact that the Vijigīṣu can be supposed in the positions of the rear-invader etc. corroborates this view.

Dr. S. misses the real point in the first verse of the following śloka upon which the meaning of the śloka depends. His translation is this: 'The rear enemy would usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend'. The correct rendering would be: The Netṛ (here the vijigīṣu) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the vijigīṣu).

Transl., p. 332. The word 'them' in the first line of the translation of the śloka commencing with *ākrandenābhiyuñjānaḥ* refers to Ākranda and Pārṣṇigrāhābhisārin mentioned in the latter portion of the translation of the previous śloka, but as a matter of fact advice has been given in the text to check Pārṣṇigrāha (and not Pārṣṇigrāhāsāra) by Ākranda.

The śloka commencing with *mitreṇa* is meant for the king attacked (abhiyukta or yātavya); hence, the use of the word 'he,' which stands for the conqueror in the translations of the preceding ślokas, also implies 'conqueror' in this śloka and is therefore inappropriate. Instead of 'he should with his friends' help hold his rear-enemy at bay' the translation should be 'the king attacked (abhiyukta) should cause his friend (mitra) to attack the rear of his enemy.' The translation of the next portion of the śloka is also wrong. In the place of 'with the help of his friend's friend he should prevent his rear-enemy attacking the Ākranda (his rear ally),' the rendering should be 'the king attacked (abhiyukta) should prevent the Ākranda (here the rear-ally of the invader) from obstructing the rear-invader (of the invader) with the help of his (yātavya's) mitra-mitra'.

The next verse *evaṃ maṇḍalam ātmārthaṃ vijigīṣur niveśayet* has been translated by Dr. S. as 'thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the circle of States under his own sway.' The question of 'bringing under sway' does not arise in this context. Only the utilisation of the services of the kings of the Maṇḍala is the subject dealt with in the text.

VII, 13, p. 305. In the last śloka but one of the chapter, the translation of the last verse is defective. It should be 'killing (the enemies) secretly under the guise of their friend' and not 'having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies, he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends.'

VII, 14, p. 305, last 2 lines. Dr. S. translates "Then the recipients of salaries from two States, exhibiting the acquisition of large profits (to the leader) may satirize the kings, saying, "you are all very well combined." The rendering should be: 'The ubhayavetanas (i.e. spies drawing salary from the attacked king but ostensibly in the pay of the minor allies of the enemy) should condemn the action of the allies by saying "you have been outwitted (by the leader)". *Atisaṃhitāḥ* in the text means that a secret gain has been made by the leader at the cost of the allies. The word atisandhāna or the verb ati—sam—dhā has been used in this sense in various places in the *Kauṭilīya.*

VII, 14. At p. 306, l. 1 the word *duṣṭa* in the sentence *duṣṭeṣu sandhiṃ dūṣayet* should not be translated as 'wicked' having regard to the context. The reference is to the alienation of the allies from their leader by the suggestion made above that they have been outwitted.

Pūrvānyatarābhāve, *kanyādānayauvanābhyām* and *kṛtasandhihīnam* at p. 306 should be rectified. The existence of these expressions in the text has vitiated the translation. The right forms would be *purvān uttarābhāve*, *kānyādāna-yāpanābhyām* and *kṛtasandhir hīnam* (see Trivandrum edition).

VII, 15. The heading of this chapter has been written as 'Measures Conducive to Peace with a Strong and Provoked Enemy ; and the Attitude of a Conquered Enemy.' The Sanskrit heading is '*balavatā vigṛhyoparodhahetavaḥ daṇḍopanatavṛttam ca*', the meaning of which has not been faithfully reflected in the English heading. The first part of the heading should be rendered as 'the reasons for shutting oneself (in a fort) while waging war with a powerful enemy.' This meaning finds support in the contents of the chapter. As regards the second portion of the heading, 'daṇḍopanata' cannot properly be rendered by 'a conquered enemy,' because conquered enemy, as the *Kauṭilīya* itself will show, is not always a daṇḍopanata. I have used the expression 'self-submitter' for the purpose (Inter-state Relations, pt. I, pp. 61 f.).

The translation (p. 336) of *tulyadurgāṇāṃ nicayāpasārato viśeṣaḥ* [of two or more forts of similar advantages, the superiority lies in the one from which the supply of necessaries of life (nicaya) can be maintained, and which affords a means of *escape* (apasāra)] is wrong, because the right significance of *tulyadurgāṇāṃ* and *apasāra* has been missed. Dr. S's. translation runs thus : 'When there are many forts, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and supplies'.

VII, 16. The heading of this chapter is *daṇḍopanāyivṛttam* which has been rendered as 'the attitude of a *conquered* king'. This obliterates the distinction between daṇḍopanāyin and daṇḍopanata, the latter being treated in the previous chapter under the heading 'the attitude of a conquered enemy'. In fact the position of the daṇḍopanāyin is just the reverse of daṇḍopanata who is under the domination of the other. I have styled him 'dominator' in my *Inter-state Relations*, pt. I. The palpable mistake of putting this wrong heading should not have been repeated through all the three editions of the translation. The impression that the chapter is dealing with the 'conquered king' has given rise to mistaken translations in several places.

The opening paragraph reflects the confusion of ideas as to the difference between the dominator and the self-submitter. Dr. S. writes: 'In view of causing financial trouble to his protector, a powerful vassal king, desirous of making conquests, may under the permission of his protector, march on countries.........'. The rendering should be 'when a powerful king (i.e. the dominator) intends to subdue one who, after making a promise (to pay), causes anxiety in regard to the payment of the money, he should march..........'.

Dr. S. in his translation speaks of 'a powerful vassal king' who goes out to make conquest with the permission of his protector intending to subdue other kings by the application of sāma, dāna, bheda and daṇḍa. This is absurd because the dominator is the central figure in the chapter and his relation to the weak king is explained in it. The dominator is to apply sāma, dāna, etc. in regard to the weak king according to the particular circumstances of each case. The misunderstanding of the basic object of the chapter has vitiated it altogether.

VII, 16, p. 311. The sentence which begins with *evam utsāhavato* has been made to end after *sthāpayet*, but as a matter of fact it should be linked up with the next line which should come to a stop after *bhūmyupakāriṇaḥ*. The translation (p. 339) speaks of the reinstatement of kings by the 'powerful vassal king', while in fact it deals with the question as to how the dominator will utilise the services of the self-submitters of various descriptions.

The last paragraph at p. 311 of the text which has been continued to the next page describes six kinds of helping kings, the first set of three kings rendering their help to the dominator directly, and the second set of three giving their assistance indirectly by causing harm to the dominator's enemy. In view of this fact the text (p. 312) *yad amitram āsāraṃ copakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi* as well as its translation (p. 339) 'whoever *helps* also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides' is incorrect and self-contradictory in its meaning. The correct reading is *yad amitram āsāraṃ cāpakaroti* (see Trivandrum ed.), of which the translation would be 'he who *harms* the enemy as well as the enemy's ally is one who helps in two ways......'.

In the rendering (p. 340) of the last sentence of the text (p. 312, *pareṇānadhivāsyayā svayam eva bhartāram upagrāhayet*, the word *pareṇa* remains untranslated, while the rest of the sentence has been translated wrongly. The translation runs thus: (he should provide) 'his own protector with an uninhabitable piece of land'. As the advice contained in the whole paragraph is meant for the daṇḍopanāyin and not for the daṇḍopanata, the translation has become the reverse of the actual meaning which is '(the daṇḍopanāyin) should conciliate (the daṇḍopanata) by giving the (former) holder (i.e., the daṇḍopanata) himself a piece of land which cannot be occupied except by him'.

The first word (teṣām) of the next paragraph refers to the various descriptions of the daṇḍopanatas mentioned in the preceding lines and the nominative of the sentence is evidently the daṇḍopanāyin and not the vassal king desirous of making conquests as pointed out by Dr. S. This wrong impression pervades the whole paragraph and has vitiated its correct import. The last three lines of the paragraph cannot appropriately be taken to refer to what should be done by a 'vassal king' 'to the protector' (daṇḍopanāyin). On the other hand, they speak of the line of action to be taken by the daṇḍopanāyin towards the daṇḍopanata. The sentence (p. 313) *evam asya daṇḍopanatāḥ putrapautrān anuvartante* [thus (i.e. by the line of action mentioned in the preceding lines) the daṇḍopanatas will follow loyally his (daṇḍopanāyin's) sons and grandsons] explains the situation.

In view of the errors shown above the translation of the whole chapter should be re-written.

VII, 18. The opening sentence of the chapter should be *madhyamasya ātmā tṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ* (Trivandrum ed.)

instead of *madhyamasyātmatṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ*, as otherwise the use of the word *prakṛtayaḥ* in *bahuvacana* would not be justified as there will be only two prakṛtis viz., *ātmatṛtīyā* nd *pañcamī*.

The translation which has been based on the wrong text is therefore incorrect. Here in the first two sentences of the chapter a grouping of certain States has been made with reference to the dealings of the king under our consideration, viz., the Vijigīṣu (the central king or state) with the madhyama. The madhyama (medium power) and the third and the fifth states from him are ṛtis, i.e., natural friends, while the second, fourth and the sixth s from the same are *vikṛtis*, i.e., natural enemies.

e situation contemplated in the next two sentences of the paragraph of the chapter has been misunderstood.

is stated in the text that if the Madhyama be friendly to both ets of kings (prakṛtis and vikṛtis), the Central State should be dly to him. Should the Madhyama show no leaning to y of these two sets of kings, the Central State should take the side of his own prakṛtis (i.e. friends). But Dr. S. translates (p. 344) the last sentence thus : 'If he does not favour them, the conqueror should be friendly with those states.' Here 'those states' evidently refer to both *prakṛtis* and *vikṛtis*, while the text speaks only of the prakṛtis, implying thereby the prakṛtis with reference to the Vijigīṣu (cf. vijigīṣur mitraṃ mitramitraṃ vā 'sya prakṛtayaḥ —*K.*, VI, 2, p. 261).

VII, 18 (transl. p. 344). The first sentence of the second paragraph of the translation should be "if the Madhyama *wants to bring under sway a really friendly king* (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the sovereign of the 'Central State', the latter should save him", instead of "if the Madhyama king is *desirous of securing the friendship* of the conqueror's *would-be friend*,......the conqueror should preserve his own friend" as translated by Dr. S.

VII, 18 (transl. p. 346). The rendering of the term *udāsīna* by neutral is, as already pointed out, extremly misleading. A reader who does not consult the text will be puzzled to find that a 'neutral' king is coming into conflict inspite of his 'neutrality.' The udāsīna, as a matter of fact, has a technical signification attached to it in the *Kauṭilīya* as also the term *madhyama* which has been translated by Dr. S. as mediatory (transl. 290). The name mediatory would *prima facie* convey the impression that the sovereign so called mediates between two other kings, but according to the description of the Madhyama found in the text, the name has a reference to the amount of strength possessed by a sovereign situated in the neighbourhood. The name Udāsīna has also a similar implication as to the amount of strength of the sovereign so called. The Madhyama is situated within the first zone of both the Vijigīṣu and the Ari (arivijigīṣvor bhūmya[na]ntaraḥ.—vi, 2, 261) and is therefore within the zone of enmity to each of tl The text (vi, 2, p. 261) lays down that the Madhyama is capab subduing each of the Ari and Vijigīṣu when they are not combi but can help them whether they are combined or not i.e. when th are allied, he is able only to help them and not to subdue thei It follows from this that the strength of the Madhyama is greater than that of either the Ari or the Vijigīṣu, but less than the combined strength of the two powers.

The Udāsīna (ut = ūrdhvam āsīnaḥ i.e. seated on a height) is the strongest power supposed to exist within the first zone of the 'Central State.' It is stated in the text (vi, 2, p. 261) that besides Ari, Vijigīṣu and Madhyama, there is another sovereign capable of subduing each of them when they are combined, but can help them whether they are combind or not i.e., when they are allied, he is able only to help them and cannot subdue them. The inference should therefore be that the strength of the Udāsīna is greater than that of the Madhyama and necessarily much greater than that of either the Ari or the Vijigīṣu taken separately, but less than the combined strength of the three taken together.

VII, 18, p. 320. The translation of the verse *nopakurvāt amitraṃ vā gacched yad atikarśitam* has been made as follows : 'The conqueror should never help his friend when the latter is more and more deteriorating.' It should however be : 'The Vijigīṣu should not help one (referring to mitra mentioned in the second verse) who, much reduced in strength (atikarśita), *goes over to the enemy* (amitraṃ gacchet).'

There is also a defect in the translation of the following śloka. The words *calaṃ mitraṃ* should be rendered as 'an unstable friend' instead of as 'a wandering friend (i.e. a nomadic king).'

Niveśya pūrvaṃ tatrānyaṃ daṇḍānugrahahetunā has been translated by Dr. S. thus: 'having made some *previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend.*' This should be: "having *previously stationed* (niveśya) *there another person* for rendering *military help* (daṇḍānugrahahetunā)."

The first portion of the next śloka *apakuryāt samarthaṃ vā* has been wrongly translated. It has been rendered as 'the *conqueror* may harm him when he has grown powerful,' while it should be translated as (*the mitra*) 'who does harm (to the Central State) when powerful'.

Dr. S.'s translation of the last śloka at p. 320 of the text is altogether wide of the mark. His translation runs thus: 'when a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.' The rendering should be as follows: 'if a Mitra after growing in power (utthitam) owing to the vyasanas (calamities) of his enemy becomes disaffected (towards the Vijigīṣu), then by the removal of the vyasanas of the enemy (of the Mitra), he (the Mitra) is brought under control through the enemy (of the Mitra).

I refrain from pointing out the blemishes from the other Books in the translation of the *Kauṭilīya* as I think that those shown above are sufficiently illustrative of the nature and number of the errors to be found more or less in other portions of the treatise. I hope the learned translator will try to remove them when the opportunity presents itself, while in the mean time, I caution the readers against relying on the translation alone for arriving at correct meanings of the passages of the *Kauṭilīya.*

NARENDRA NATH LAW

An Inscription dated in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah

There is a stone (1008,)[1a] inscribed with Devanāgarī characters, in the gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is marked "Not Read". From the label attached thereto it appears that neither the provenance of the inscription nor the name of the donor is known. The language seems to be a Sanskritised form of the "Khaṭolā Bundelī of Damoh," illustrated in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, pt. I, p. 464. The epigraph was probably discovered in the Damoh region.

The inscription records the erection of a funeral pillar in honour of a private individual. Its importance lies in its form of dating. It is dated not only in both the Vikrama and the Śaka eras, but also in the "gati-varṣa" (current regnal year) of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Mughal emperor of Delhi, who ruled from 1719-1748 A.D. Another interesting thing is that it contains more than one instance of that philological fact, about which M. Sylvain Lévi has said, "les deux lettres 'ṣa' et 'kha' s'emploient constamment l'une pour l'autre et les théoriciens posent en principe leur identité absolue dans le jeux de mots." (*Le Népal*, II. p. 145).

The inscription contains fourteen lines, which we read as follows

1 Sidhi (॥) Śrī-Gaṇesāya namaḥ । Śrī-Sarasvati
2 namaḥ (।) Dhṛttesvara-nāma (?) saṃvatsare Śrī
3 Vikramādittyarājye Saṃvat 1803 (,) Sā-
4 ke 1668 Śrī-sūrya utrāyane vasa-
5 tti * * Śrī Pāttisāhi Mahaṃmada Sāhi-gativarṣa
6 28 vaisāṣamāse krasnapakṣe trayodasī 13 caṃdravāsare
7 vadi nemahā uttipakaraje (?) nijabāgamadhye Udeyapura-
8 nagre Subha asthāne (॥) Suve Mālava * * -nivāsabāva-
9 lī isthitticharī (?) Vaisyavarane parmadharmaḥma Śrī-Cauḥ Ca-
paṃta
10 Rāīji-laghubhrātā Jasavaṃta Rāījī (।) Tīnanai nivahaī—Mīra
11 Śrī-Cauḥ-Capaṃta Rāījī (,) tasya putra Śrī-Cauḥ Amānata
Rāī-
12 jī tasya putra Ciḥ (?) Śrī-Cauḥ-Varajora Siṃgha (॥) Dighāyu-
rastū
13 leṣaka (।) Sūbhaṃ bhavatū maṃgalaṃ (॥)
14 Kārīgara Cainduvā Siṃghamana (।)

TRANSLATION

"Success. Adoration to Śrī-Gaṇeśa. Adoration to Śrī Sarasvatī. In the year 1803 according to the era founded in the reign of Srī-Vikramāditya, in Śāka 1668, when the illustrious Sun is in the Uttarāyaṇa (Northern course), in the current year 28 of the illustrious emperor Mahaṃmada Sāha, in the thirteenth 13 lunar day of the black fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha……in an auspicious place in (their) own garden at the town of Udeyapura. Jasavanta Rāiji, the younger brother of Srī Caudhuri (?) Capaṃta Rāiji, a very pious man of the Vaiśya sect,……who is an inhabitant of the Mālava Suvā.

(These) three perform (it)—Mīra Śrī Caudhuri Capaṃta Rāījī, his son Śrī Caudhuri Amānata Rāījī, (and) his son Śrī Caudhuri Varajora Siṃgha. May the writer live long. Let it be auspicious and prosperous.

The scribe (is) Cainduvā Siṃghamana.

NOTES

1. Muhammad Shah (1719-48) is the Mughal emperor of Delhi. The 28th year of his reign was 1719+27=1746 A.D. The Vikrama d Śaka years referred to in the inscription (1803 V.E.—57=1746 ; 1668 Ś.E.+78=1746 A.D.) also give the same date.

2. Udayapura-nagara appears to be an unimportant town in ālava.

3. The omission of the word "Śrī" before the name of Jasavaṃta shows that he was dead. We have left this word untranslated except in two places for the sake of avoiding awkwardness.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

"Caṃdasutānaṃ" in the Nanaghat Cave Inscription

In the Nanaghat Cave Inscription No. I, edited by G. Bühler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. V, the passage "Namo Saṃkasaṇa-Vāsudevānaṃ caṃdasutānaṃ mahimāvatānam cātumnaṃ ca lokapālānaṃ Yama-Varuṇa-Kuvera-Vāsavānaṃ" (line 1) has been translated as "Adoration to Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, the descendants of the Moon, who are endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera and Vāsava."

Bühler translates "Caṃdasutānaṃ" as the descendants of Caṃda and takes it as an epithet of "Saṃkasana-Vāsudeva." I, however, differ from him on the following grounds :

The vowel-mark in "s," the third letter of the word "caṃdasutānaṃ," is distinctly "ū," and there is hardly any instance of Sanskrit long "ū" being changed into short "u" in Prakrit. Then the next letter, of which the lower part is lost, seems to me to be "ra" and not 'ta.' The word therefore is "Candasūrānaṃ," (=candrasūryayoḥ) and the epithet "mahimāvatānaṃ" then suits it excellently.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

The Bhāgavṛtti

The name Bhāgavṛtti occurs fairly frequently in commentaries on grammar and lexicons but we know practically next to nothing about the work and its author. The late Prof. Sris Chandra Chakravarti in his highly erudite introduction to the काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका inclines to the view that Bhartṛhari is the author of the Bhāgavṛtti. Prof. Chakravarti writes :—'It-sing in a part of his book makes भर्तृहरि the author of a commentary on पाणिनि. He calls it "pei-na" which is surmised by the Japanese translator (Mr. J. Takakusu) to be the Veda vṛtti or वेदवृत्ति.………… Now this "pei-na" is probably the भागवृत्ति which is a commentary on the अष्टाध्यायी' (pp. 13-14). In a foot-note Prof. Chakravarti asks: "May not the Vedavṛtti as well be a corruption of the word भेजवृत्ति or भेदवृत्ति i.e., भागवृत्ति ?" This argument need not be seriously considered. By turning and twisting the vowels and consonants in a word we can prove anything, but that is not scientific.

Prof. Chakravarti's second argument is that Bhartṛhari is mentioned as the author of the Bhāgavṛtti in several grammatical treatises. He says :—"As to its authorship the following statement is found in the तन्त्रप्रदीप by मैत्रेयरक्षित on the Sūtra VIII, 3, 21, viz.,—भर्तृहरिणा चास्य नित्यार्थतैवोक्ता। तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता प्रत्युदाहरणमुपन्यस्तं तन्त्रे उक्तं तन्त्रयुक्तमिति। वामनोऽपि लोपेनैवोदाहरणमुक्तवान्।—शरणदेव says in his दुर्घटवृत्ति on the Sūtra VIII, 3, 37—उपराम उदयाम इत्येव भवतीति भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम्। सृष्टिधराचार्य्य, the author of the भाषावृत्त्यर्थविवृति, a commentary on the भाषावृत्ति by पुरुषोत्तमदेव, remarks in the end of his book—भागवृत्तिर्भर्तृहरिणा विरचिता श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रादिष्टा।"

Prof. Chakravarti evidently thought that the three passages quoted above pointed to the same conclusion, but the fact is just the reverse. In the quotation from मैत्रेयरक्षित who certainly was most intimately acquainted with the भागवृत्ति, तथाच means 'similarly', so the passage contains the views of three grammarians, viz., भागवृत्तिकृत्, भर्तृहरि and वामन. In the second passage quoted शरणदेव distinctly says—'it has been said by Bhartṛhari as also the author of the भागवृत्ति'

(भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम्). As regards the statement of सृष्टिधर, it is cle that सृष्टिधर confuses भागवृत्ति with भट्टि. As a matter of fact the author c the Bhāgavṛtti was quite distinct from Bhartṛhari as in numerous passages in commentaries on grammar the opinions of both have been side by side.

a learned preface to the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal VI), Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī does not offer any suggestion of own but contents himself with showing the unreliable character of facts and arguments put forward by Mr. Chakravarti. Says Sastri : "No reliance can be placed on any historical statements f Sṛṣṭidharācārya as he belongs to the 17th century and to North Bengal. In this very quotation he confounds Bhaṭṭi and Bhartṛhari, for Srīdharasena was the patron of Bhaṭṭi the poet, and not of Bhartṛhari the grammarian".

shall now try to glean some information about the author hāgavṛtti and his approximate date from the references to the work I have come across in the course of my studies in Sanskrit grammar.

Though भागवृत्ति and भागवृत्तिकृत् are pretty frequently referred to in Sanskrit grammatical literature, in only one passage have I found the name of the author mentioned. In his Kātantra-Pariśiṣṭa (I. 142). Śrīpatidatta says : द्यौरोकोऽस्य दिवौका:, औत्वमोकारस्य। यद्यपि दिवर्षे दिवमिति निषितम् तथाप्योकारनिवृत्त्यर्थमिह दिवौकस: पाठ:। तथाच भागवृत्तिकृता विमलमतिनापीत्थ निपातित:।

It would appear from the above extract that Vimalamati is the author of the Bhāgavṛtti. One Vimalamati is mentioned by Eggeling as the author of a commentary on the Candravyākaraṇa. Trilocanadāsa in his Kātantravṛttipañcikā on Kātantra, Samāsapāda 1, quotes the following verse from Vimalamati :

विशेष्यस्य विशेषेण मिलितं युक्तमुच्यते।
समासाख्यं तदेव स्यात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिरेव च ॥

In our present state of knowledge it is difficult to say whether all these three Vimalamatis refer to one and the same person or not.

That the Bhāgavṛtti was not among the early वृत्तिs on Pāṇini would be clear from the following remarks of Śrīpati (*Ibid.*, II, 16): भागवृत्तिकृता छान्दसं वचनम् इत्यभ्युपगतम्। न तन्मतमाद्यानां वृत्तिकृतां न चन्द्रस्य i.e., the author of the Bhāgavṛtti holds that the dictum is applicable to the Vedas alone; but that is not the view of the early Vṛttikāras nor of Candra. The early Vṛttikāras refer, of course, to Kuṇi, Jayāditya, Vāmana and others.

That the author of the भागवृत्ति could not have been Bhartṛhari is evident from the following:

[प्रह्विण्वनम्, प्रह्विन्वनम्] भर्तृहरिसम्मतमिदमुदाहरणं भागवृत्तिकृताप्युदाहृतम्। अत्र वामनादीनामसम्मतम्।—Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra, I. 328.

[अागमास्तद्गुणीभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते इति परिभाषायां] सत्याम् प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु [८।४।११] इत्यत्र नुम्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं न दृश्यते। भर्तृहरिणा तूक्तम्—यः प्रातिपदिकान्तो नकारो न भवति तदर्थं नुम्ग्रहणम्, प्राह्विण्वदिति। अत्र हि ह्विवेर्लुङि नुमो णत्वमिति॥ तत्र च पूर्वपदाधिकारः समासे च पूर्वोत्तरपदव्यवहारः, तत् कथमिह णत्वमिति न व्यक्तीकृतमिति भागवृत्तिकृतोक्तम्।—Sīradeva on Paribhāṣā, 4.

गततात्छौल्य इति भागवृत्तिः। गतविधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्था इति भर्तृहरिः।—Durghaṭavṛtti on हरतेर्गततात्छौल्य इति वक्तव्यम्।

उपराम उद्याम इत्येव भवतीति भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्तिकृता चोक्तम् (*Ibid.*, VII. 3, 31).

That it was posterior to the Kāśikā is clear from the fact that it discusses quotations from माघ as also the fact that in many cases it seems to controvert the views of the Kāśikā.

Thus—

"वारुणीमदविशङ्कमथाविघृणोऽभवदसाविव रागः" इति माघे [१०।१९] व्यवहितप्रयोगः प्रमादेन इति भागवृत्तिः—Ujjvaladatta on उणादि २।१०९.

कथं चिक्रंसया कविमपविपङ्क्तेरिति माघः [२।५१]। उच्यते यद्देर्जिघृक्षया इति पाठ इति भागवृत्तिः (दुर्घटवृत्तिः on स्नुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते 7. 2. 36). प्राच्यास्तु "जिघत्सया" इति पठन्ति इति भागवृत्तिः—Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra, 1097.

अतएव तत्रैव सूत्रे [१।१।२७] भागवृत्तिः—पुरातनमुनेर्मुनितामिति पुरातनीर्नदीरिति च प्रमादपाठावेतौ। गतानुगतिकतया कवयः प्रयुञ्जते न तेषां लक्षणं चक्रुरिति। — Sīradeva on Paribhāṣā, 29.

साम्राज्यमित्यपि ब्राह्मणादित्वादिति जयादित्यः। नेति भागवृत्तिः (भाषावृत्तिः 5. 1. 132).

इटो हेत्यस्यानुवृत्तौ दीर्घो नेहास्तीति वामनवृत्तिः। अस्तीति भागवृत्तिः (भाषावृत्ति on किरः पञ्चभ्यः 7. 2. 75).

Commenting on Pāṇini VI. I, 9 the Kāśikā remarks अनभ्यासस्येत्येव जुगुप्सिषते। लोलूयिषते। On this the Padamañjari remarks: भागवृत्तिकारस्त्वाह—"[illegible]ङोः" "अनभ्यासस्य" इति द्वयमपि प्रत्याख्याय भाष्यकारेणोक्तम्—तिष्ठतु तावत् साभ्यासिकं , उत्तरार्थमिति भावः। अनभ्यासग्रहणस्य तु न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनमुक्तम्, ततश्चोत्तरार्थमपि तत्र भाष्यकारस्याभिप्रायो लक्ष्यते, तेनात्र भवितव्यमेव द्विर्वचनेनेति।

भागवृत्तिकारः पुनः प्राह—शपेरुपलम्भने प्रकाशने कथने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति। देवदत्ताय शपते। यत्किञ्चित् कथयतीत्यर्थः। वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनमुपालम्भनमित्यदः कस्यचित् काव्यम्।—(पुरुषकार cxxxii). Here the last sentence seems to be a hit at Jayāditya explains उपालम्भनम् as वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनम्।

Sometimes it has a fling at the Nyāsakāra also. Cf. कथं पतन्त्यनेके जलधेरिवोर्मयः इति भारविः। तथा अनेकेषां नानास्थानेति न्यासः। * * * भागवृत्तिकृता '"अनेकेषाम्" इति कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दाः' इति। Durghaṭavṛtti, II, 2, 6.

नेष्यते, भागवृत्तिकारेण त्विष्यते (पदमञ्जरी vol. I, p. 251. l. 2).

Instances could be multiplied to any extent to show that on important points of grammar the Bhāgavṛtti differed from the Kāśikā. It would appear also that it followed the Bhāṣya much more closely than Jayāditya or Vāmana.

वामनेनास्य [दम्भिश्रन्थिग्रन्थीनां लिटि] नित्यत्वमुक्तम्, भागवृत्तिकृता तु अनार्षत्वम् उक्तम् (Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra II. 1709).

वानुवृत्तिर्जयादित्यचन्द्रप्रभृतिभिरुक्ता, वाचस्पत्यादिकृतकोषे च विकल्पो दृश्यते, भाष्येऽनुदात्तत्वाद् भागवृत्तिकृता नित्यत्वमुक्तम्। (*Ibid.*, Taddhitapāda, 47).

भाष्यकारस्वरसेन बुद्ध्यर्थादिप्रयोगे च वर्तमाने एव क्तो न तु भूते भवति, अतः षष्ठ्येव भवितव्यमिति भागवृत्तिकृतो मतम्। (*Ibid.* Kārakapāda, 177).

Bhāgavṛtti's view on आजघ्ने विषमविलोचनस्य वक्षः [किराते १७। ६३] has been quoted or referred to by all subsequent commentators. Unlike most grammarians the author of the Bhāgavṛtti takes the bull by the horns and pronounces the form आजघ्ने in the line incorrect. He suggests the emendation आपेदे for आजघ्ने. Vide Jumaranandī and Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra, 504.

Bhāgavṛtti often discusses the peculiar forms occurring in the Bhaṭṭikāvya. Cf. Bhāṣāvṛtti, 4, 1, 178. वर्षं प्राक् कैकयीतो भरतस्ततोऽभूदिति। आयप्रकृतेरेव

कुलटारेव सौऽयमिति स्त्रीवृत्तेः शार्ङ्गरवाद् यञो ङीन् इति भागवृत्तिः। (See also Rāmatarkavāgiśa on Mugdhabodha, 429). Cf. also उरिति क्तो विशेषणम्, तेन उदन्तविधेः, धनं गृध्नुः, रक्षोगणं क्षिप्नुरिति भागवृत्तिकृता दर्शितम् (Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra Kārakapāda, 1641).

One important point on which the Bhāgavṛtti appears to differ from most grammarians is that according to it a transitive root can be conjugated in the भाववाच्य. Says Goyīcandra (Kṛdantapāda, 180) : कान्दिगन्तव्यमिति कादम्बरीप्रयोगे कर्मोपादानेऽपि भावे तव्यङ्; अनुक्तत्वात् कर्मणो दिशमिति द्विती तथा च, गम्यते ग्रामं विप्रेणेत्यादावपि भावे भवतीति भागवृत्तिकृतोक्तम्। अन्ये त्वेवं नेच्छन्ति। Simil Rāmatarkavāgiśa on Mugdhabodha 308 : सदाद् धोरपि भावे त्य इति भागवृत्तिः.

Its views on मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च have not generally been followed by la grammarians. Strictly following the Bhāṣya it restricts क्त in the ca of these roots to the वर्त्तमानकाल and holds that such uses as त्वया ज्ञातो म रचितः are wrong. इह वर्त्तमानक्तेन भूतक्तस्य बाधनमिष्यते तेन त्वया ज्ञातो मया रचित इत्याद्यचिकित्स्यमिति भागवृत्तिः—Bhāṣāvṛtti, 3, 2, 188. कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दा इति भागवृत्तिः—Durghaṭavṛtti 3, 2, 188. On Jumaranandin's line त्वया ज्ञातो मया ज्ञात इत्यसाधुरिति भागवृत्तिः, Goyīcandra remarks : भाष्यकारस्वरसेन बुद्ध्यर्थादिप्रयोगे च वर्त्तमाने एव क्तो न तु भूते भवति ; अतः षष्ठ्येव भवितव्यमिति भागवृत्तिकृतो मतम्। अत्र स्वरसाभावादिति भागवृत्तिरित्युपन्यस्तवान् (Kārakapāda 177). Haradatta (following Kaiyaṭa) steers a middle course in his Padamañjarī on 2. 2, 12 and says : कथं राजसम्मत राजाभिमत इति। अस्ति हि महिकार्थे प्रयोगः—कालहं स राममहितः कृतवानिति, मह पूजायां रामस्य महित इत्यर्थः। कश्चिदाह। यदा वर्त्तमाने क्तस्तदा षष्ठी समासनिषेधश्च, यदा भूते क्तस्तदा कर्त्तरि तृतीयैव भवति, यथा पूजितो यः सुरैरपीति [illegible] कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलमिति समासः। स्यादेवं यदि भूते क्तो लभ्यः। नाप्राप्ते तस्मिन्नारभ्यमाणो मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्चेति वर्त्तमाने क्तस्तस्य बाधको भवति, यथा च वडवाया वृषे वाच्य इत्यपत्ये प्राप्तो ढक् ततोऽपकृष्य विधीयतेऽपत्ये त्वणेव भवतीति वक्ष्यति, एवं च पूजितो यः सुरैरपीत्यचिकित्स्योऽपशब्दः, त्वया ज्ञातो मया ज्ञात इति तु भवत्येव, तेनेत्यधिकारे उपज्ञात इति निर्देशात्। Śrīpatidatta in his Kātantrapariśiṣṭa taking strong exception to the view of the Bhāgavṛttikāra holds there can be no बाध्यबाधकभाव here because the two have been prescribed for different times, and then quotes a host of examples from well-known authors to show that क्त is used with मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थक roots to denote past time, the nominative taking the instrumental case. The author of the अनुन्यास simply extends the ज्ञापक to all cases saying सामान्यापेक्षं ज्ञापकम्। This appears to be the view of all later grammarians.

It would appear that the name Bhāgavṛtti had its origin in the fact that it divided the अष्टाध्यायी of Pāṇini into two parts—the first part dealing with classical Sanskrit (भाषा) and the second with Vedic Sanskrit (छन्दः). Cf. Goyīcandra on Saṅkṣiptasāra II. 1729—कसुकानचौ छन्दस्येव भाषाव्याख्यात्वभिव्यंवस्थितम्, अतएव भाषाभागे भागवृत्तिकृद्भाषावृत्तिकारश्च कसुकानज्विधानखितवान्, and on I, 190 अण् सानुनासिक इति वक्तव्यम्। अवसाने वर्तमानोऽन् सानुवति।............अथवैतन्न वक्तव्यं छान्दसत्वात्। अतएव भागवृत्तौ भाषाभागे नास्त्येतत्।

gards the date of the Bhāgavṛttikāra it is difficult to be very until further data are forthcoming. But since the Bhāgavṛtti otes or refers to Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Kāśikā, Nyāsa ha and has been referred to by Kramadīśvara (in his rule . भागवृत्तिः (कारकपाद, 101) and Maitreya Rakṣita, we shall not be far wrong if we put him between A.D. 850 and 1050.

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

The Authorship of the Anunyāsa

Prof. Sriscandra Chakravarti in the introduction to his edition of the Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā remarks: "Some say that this तन्त्रप्रदीप is probably identical with the अनुन्यास or न्यासोद्योत।" This opinion is clearly untenable. From quotations in various works on grammar, we can easily make out that the Tantrapradīpa by Maitreya Rakṣita is quite a different work from the Anunyāsa. The following extract from Sīradeva's Paribhāṣāvṛtti (Benares edition, p. 79) settles the question of the authorship of the Anunyāsa :

एतस्मिन् वाक्ये इन्दुमैत्रेययोः शाश्वतिको विरोधः। तथाहि प्रत्ययसूत्रेऽनुन्यासकार उक्तवान्—प्रतियन्त्यनेनार्थान् इति प्रत्ययः। एरच् इत्यच्। पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण इति वा घ इति। मैत्रेयः पुनराह—पुंसि संज्ञायामिति घप्रत्यय एव। एरच् इत्यच्प्रत्ययस्तु करणे ल्युटा बाधितत्वान्न शक्यते कर्तुम्। न च वासरूपविधिरस्ति क्तल्युडितग्रादिवचनात्। अत्र मैत्रेयाभिप्रायः..............अनुन्यासकारस्य त्वयमभिप्रायः...........

From the above it is clear that इन्दु (often referred to in commentaries as इन्दुमित्र) is the author of the Anunyāsa. In the Durghaṭa-

vṛtti (3, 3, 58) we read : कथं क्रियते सारसंग्रहः ।[1] "हलश्च" इति करणाधिकरणयोर्घञापो बाधनात् । उच्यते । "करणाधिकरणयोश्च" इति ल्युटा घञ् बाधितः, सोऽपि "हलश्च" इति घञा, ततश्च वासरूपविधिना यथा ल्युट्, तथा तद्विषये वासरूपविधिना भवितेति । भवति "क्तल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेषु वासरूपविधिर्नास्ती"ति । तत्र भावल्युटो ग्रहणम् इति प्रत्ययसूत्रे "एरच्" इत्यत्र प्रवर्तते इति इन्दुनोक्तम् । रक्षितेन तु सामान्येन ल्युट् गृहीतः । तन्मते बाहुलकादच् ।

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

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[1] The reference is evidently to the introductory verse of the Kāśikā which runs thus :

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।
विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः ॥

REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF RĀJPUTĀNĀ (in Hindi)—(Fasciculus III), īmahopādhyāya, Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirāchānd . 737-1136).

resent fasciculus continues the history of the state of Udayapur for nearly 300 years—from about the third quarter of the century to that of the nineteenth. It begins with an of the reign of the celebrated Rāṇā Pratāp and closes with Mahārāṇa Sajjanasiṃha who was still ruling when this went for publication.

in the case of the earlier ones, the author has made use of ble materials in the preparation of this volume. The careful comparing the contents of the earlier volumes with those present one will, however, notice that whereas in the former erences to inscriptions loom large in the eyes, in the present literary evidence has been laid much more in debt. Historical ns like Rājavilās, Bhīmavilās, Rājapraśasti, Mahākāvya, iṃhābhiṣeka Kāvya etc. or later works written on the authority of such compositions like the Vaṃśabhāskar and the Vīravinoda etc. will be found referred to at almost every page in the present volume. The reason is not far to seek. As we enter into the history of Rājaputānā of the sixteenth century—we seem to enter into a new world. Dr. Tessitori has shown that the Rājput princes when they came in contact with the Mughal emperors sought to imitate them in every possible way and especially in their patronage of historical literature. But unlike the historical works written under the patronage of the Mughal emperors, those written under the auspices of the Rājput princes were very crude in their form a matter. Their value as historical evidence has been very carefully examined by that distinguished scholar, and those who are interested in Rājasthāni literature as a source of Rājput history must go through the most illuminating articles contributed by him to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The fact is that no one, who is not conversant with the western scientific method, can be expected to extract the truth out of this mixture of fact and fancy. It is easy for a student who has an idea of how European scholars have dealt, for example, with the traditions relating to early Roman history contained in the pages of Polybius or Livy, to appreciate the amount of credence to be put upon the Rājasthāni literature professing to be historical in character.

The present writer has his own views regarding the value to be attached to the Rājasthāni literature and it is quite permissible to differ from him in this matter. If therefore any person may disagree here and there with him, it is because there is the fundamental difference in the outlook of their respective estimation the Rājasthāni literature as a source of history. To take an exampl out of many, in his account of the early history of Rānā Pra the author has given preference to Rājput tradition over the evide of the contemporary Moslem records.

One could not expect—and the author, it is hoped, did n also entertain the idea that the views expressed in this work wou be universally accepted. To do so is to lose sight of the scientifi character of historical studies. Leaving, therefore, questions of difference of opinion aside every person going through the volumes on the history of Mevār will agree that here is a really monumental work second only to Tod's famous Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

DIE KULTER UM DEN PERSISCHEN GOLF UND IHRE AUSBREITUNG. Von Amelia Hertz, Klio, Beiheft XX. Leipzig, 1930. Pp. 140, and 8 plates.

Recent discoveries in Mesopotamia and India have made it clear t[illegible] essential elements of "civilisation" were already in being in the fourth millennium B.C. ; upon these foundations of the modern world all else has been elaboration rather than discovery. These [illegible]ginnings are to be connected with the first great development of [illegible]ture, and antedate that of organised empires and warfare. The present work is an initial synthesis, arguing that the Persian Gulf culture (a term practically equivalent to "Early Asiatic") survives recognizably, with further evolution, in the later Indian, Greek and Hebrew civilisations. Above all in the Indian not as the result of later influences but as a tendency inherited from a common source or closely related sources the authoress regards it as certain that the Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley cultures were both of Elamite origin. The ultimate debt of existing civilisations to the most ancient cultures of Western Asia is undeniable, and th becomes more and more clear that "Indo-European" is by no m the same thing as "Indo-Aryan". The latter term has an al exclusively linguistic significance, the former primarily a cultura incidentally a linguistic significance. From the Mediterra- e Ganges valley the Aryans inherited the pre-Aryan culture nquered races, contributing only the new language and ture which became the vehicle of a new synthetic and more civilisation, equally in the Mediterranean area and in India potamia where Aryan language failed to take root, no such nces followed). Thus, for example, the vegetation cults n and the technique of metal work in industry are Indo- , but Indo-Aryan only in the sense that "Aryan" peoples these culture-goods equally in both areas.

sation may then be said to have started with Proto-Elamite special merit of the present work lies in its attempt to the survivals of this early tradition, not merely as fossils, living tendencies. The religious aspect of the question is summarily treated ; this is perhaps due to the fact that in comparative mythology it so often, and unfortunately, happens that more stress is laid on the *names* of deities than upon their essential nature (in India, for example, the fundamental identity of Varuṇa-Prajāpati-Brahmā-Nārāyaṇa is often overlooked, though in all of these and in the myths connected with them, one and the same general concept of God is clearly preserved). The chief emphasis of the argument is made to rest on mathematics, a subject to which the authoress has devoted particular attention (see "Les débuts de la *Rev. de Synthèse Historique*, June, 1929): the advanced ma formulæ implied in the Indian rules for the construction o altars (acquaintance with "root-rectangles" etc., in the Śulba Sūtra, etc.) is connected with the early developmen of mathematical theology and of geometrical design on Mesopotamia and Susa I. Somewhat imperfectly preserved lonia and Egypt, the mathematical tradition is continued in India more clearly than anywhere else ; until in the middle ages Indian arithmetic and algebra reached Europe via the Arabs. Einstein, the spiritual descendant of the Proto-Elamites ! a sweeping synthesis, a grandiose conception of human unity, by no means altogether fanciful.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Luzac and Co., 1930, 324 pp.

The object of this valuable work is to apprise the world of the fact that the Tamils have a distinctive culture of their own as hoary, noble, and varied as that of Northern India of the post-Vedic period. The author Mr. Dikshitar brings out in bold relief the part played by *Sangams* in the production of the Tamil literary treasures. He is of opinion that the origin of the Sangams may be shrouded i obscurity but there remains the fact that "there was something li an organized Academy from ancient times and it continued to e for several centuries" (p. 15). The information collected here ab the Sangams is interesting. The author has experienced some di culty in establishing the history of all the three Sangams and fixing their dates. Sangam, the author points out, meant an Inst tution or Academy, the functions of which were not only to produce the Sangam works but also to act as censor of new literary compositions.

The author is of opinion that some historical truth is embedded in the local traditions of a country. In purusance of that opinion, he has collected the traditions about the origin and activities of the institutions in a neat and concise form. He first gives an account of the extant Sangam works, the ten literary pieces forming the *Pattuppāṭṭu*—a production of the third Sangam, and the eighteen minor works collectively known as the *Padineṃ-kīḻakkaṇakku.* He then proceeds to give biographies of notable Sangam writers, including the poetess Avvaiyar, the prince Iḷaṇkoaḍgal who wrote the *Śilappadikāṛam*, and Śittalai Sāttanār, author of the *Maṇimekalai.*

hird chapter Mr. Dikshitar deals with the religious writers groups: (i) Śaiva Samayācāryas and (ii) Vaiṣṇava Samayācāryas. he biographies of the Śaiva Samayācāryas reveal to us ng other things the facts that they had to carry on a vigorous against the *Samaṇas*, i.e., the Jainas and the Buddhists who must have at that time become obnoxious to the Śaivas on account of their great popularity and large number of adherents. The mystic love-poems of the Vaiṣṇava Samayācāryas, as the author points out, were indeed very charming and they well bear comparison with the noted Vaiṣṇava writings of the North. Among the Vaiṣṇava writers, he speaks of the celebrated poetess Āṇḍāl (716 A.C.) as also of the later religious and philosophical writers like Rāmaliṅgaswāmigal (1823 A.C.). It is a well-known fact that Southern India can claim to have produced the greatest religious thinkers of the mediaeval period and it is not improbable that much of the doctrines and philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism was contributed by the Southern Indian thinkers. So the information collected in this book about thinkers and their productions is very valuable for the history of India.

ourth chapter is devoted to an examination of the life and he author of the *Tirukkuraḷ* (1st or 2nd century B.C.), which in Nīti maxims similar to those found in the *Hitopadeśa*, *kīya Nītisāra*, *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra*, etc. Mr. Dikshitar this treatise under the three heads : *dharma* (*aṟam*), *artha* nd *kāma* (*imbam*) and shows by citations from Sanskrit ks that the Tamil conception of *Muppāl* (*Trivarga*) was not from that of Aryan India, whence it percolated into Tamil a very early date.

ar the author of the present work has been cautious in drawonclusions, but when he comes to the chapters on the "Adtive Institutions" and the "Art of War," his patriotic instinct to dominate his critical sense, the scanty materials scattered and there in one or two Sangam works, supplemented by materials collected from some of the later Tamil works and inscriptions he infers the existence of "a wonderful system of polity, having very much in common with the North Indian polity, though in some respects strikingly original" (p. 177).

In the last chapter the author treats of "Social Life in Tamil Land." The information about life in towns and villages is scanty but it has been partially recompensed by the interes written sections on marriage and marriage customs, da amusements, festivals and superstitions.

We quite appreciate the remark of the author tha easy task to present a complete picture of the ancient T within the small compass of 50 pages. The task underta viz., to present us with not only a social picture of Tamils but also a fairly comprehensive picture of the ical institutions, religious and literary activities is really onerous. He has enlivened the book by biographical accounts of the personages who have contributed to the culture which makes Drāviḍa what it is today. The value of the work has been much enhanced by the accounts of the Sangam works, their probable dates and the nature of the historical materials that can be found in them.

N. D.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA—by Francis Buchanan—Edited by V. H. Jackson M.A., I.E.S.—1928 (Bihar and Orisa Research Society).

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has done considerable service by undertaking the gradual publication of those portions of the Buchanan Mss. which relate to the districts of Bihar. The Journals of Francis Buchanan kept during the survey of the districts of Patn and Gaya in 1811-12, and the district of Shahbad in 1812-13 wer published by the Society in 1925 and 1926 respectively. These volum were enriched by valuable editorial introductions and notes by well-known scholars—the Patna report being edited by Mr. V. Jackson and the Shahbad report being edited by Mr. C.E.A.W. Oldha. The volume under notice is not the Journal, but the Report of t survey of the Purnea district made in 1809-10. The Journal kept b Buchanan during the survey appears to have been lost, which enhances the value of the Report. In the Buchanan Mss. the Journals are quite distinct from the Reports on the corresponding districts. Buchanan used to keep a daily journal, not intended for publication, recording the information which he received and his own observations on the day's march, The matter recorded in the Journal together with a large amount of supplementary information was at the end of the survey of each district rearranged and put under the appropriate sections for publication as a Report. The Reports are therefore carefully finished works following in their arrangement the actual order of Buchanan's instructions.

"When in January 1807 the Court of Directors selected Dr. Francis to carry out a "statistical survey" of the Bengal presidency, hoice fell upon a person who was eminently qualified for that kind of work. Dr. Buchanan came to India in 1794 as a surgeon on Bengal establishment. From the first, the scientific turn of his nclined him towards Botanical and Zoological enquiries. He was sent on a mission to the Court of Ava in course of which he acquired knowledge of the plants of the Andamans, Pegu and Ava. On his return he was stationed at Luckipore, where he wrote a description of the fishes of the Brahmaputra. He was then sent by the Board of Trade at Calcutta to Chittagong and its neighbourhood to conduct investigations. In 1800, after the conquest of Mysore, Lord Wellesley selected Buchanan to make investigations which were to extend "throughout the dominions of the present Raja of Mysore, and the country acquired by the Company in the late war from the Sultan, as well as to that part of Malabar which the Company annexed to their own territories in the former war under Marquis Cornwallis," directing that "the first great and essential object of your attention should be the agriculture of the country under which your enquiries should include the following points :—esculent vegetables, cattle, farms, cotton, pepper, sandal wood and cardamums, mines, quarries, minerals and mineral springs, manufactures and manufacturers, climate and seasons nd inhabitants of Mysore." These inquiries carried on during the ars 1800-1 resulted in a daily journal entitled "A Journey from dras through the countries of Mysore, Canara aud Malabar" and published in 1807 by order of the Court of Directors. In 1802 ain Buchanan accompanied the embassy of Capt. Knox to Nepal d made collections of rare plants. It was to such a man that the atistical survey of the Bengal presidency was entrusted in 1807.

"The subjects of more particular inquiry were as follows : 1. A full topographical account of each district ; its climate and meteorology ; its history and antiquities. 2. The number and condition of the inhabitants ; their food, habits, diseases etc, ; education and resources for the indigent. 3. Religion ; the different sects or tribes ; the emoluments and power of their priests and chiefs ; their feeling towards our Government. 4. Natural productions, animal, vegetable and mineral ; fisheries, forests, mines and quarries. 5. Agriculture, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, including the state of the landed property and tenures. 6. The progress made by the natives in the fine arts, the common arts, and manufactures. 7. Commerce."

This work was carried on from 1807-14 during districts of Gaya and Patna, Shahbad, Bhagalpur, M Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, part of Bogra, Malda and surveyed at a cost of about Rs. 3 lakhs. The materials thus collec were forwarded by the Bengal Government to London in 18 did not see the light of day until published in abridged form 38 (nine years after Buchanan's death) in Montgomery Martin's " ern India." Martin's abridgement was unfortunately defective, having omitted matters of considerable value. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has therefore undertaken a very useful task in gradually publishing in full the Journals and Reports relating to the districts of Bihar. So far as the publication in extenso of the Mss. relating to the Bengal districts are concerned, only the Dinajpur Report appears to have been published in 1833. It will be a great boon to the students of the economic and social condition of eastern India in the early years of the 19th century, if these reports too are made available n print.

Apart from the historical portions, there cannot be any word as to the great value of the Report under notice. The scientific bent of Buchanan's mind, his careful methods of investigation, his unflagging zeal which enabled him to surmount the difficulties of poineer work, —all these have gone to make his mss. a reliable source of information An introduction to the Purnea Report from the pen of Mr. Jacksor would have enhanced the value of the present publication.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, June 1931

PRANNATH.—*The Date of the Compilation of Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra.* In support of the writer's view that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* could not have been the minister of Candragupta Maurya and that the work was compiled at a time between 480 and 510 A.D., the following reasons have been put forward in this article continued to the next issue of the Journal :

(1) The references in the Arthaśāstra to seaports, ships sailing for pearl fishery and pirate vessels show that the author lived in a country situated somewhere near the sea coast. (2) The chapter dealing with the management of crown lands (svabhūmi) indicates that the king contemplated therein possessed landed properties near the Western sea, forming a political unit including Koṅkaṇa, Kaccha, Surāṣṭra, Sindh etc. with its capital at Ujjain in Malwa. (3) Historical evidences point to the existence of a Malwa empire answering to the conditions of the supposed 'political unit' in Western India during the early centuries of the Christian era (from 126 A.D. to 510 A.D.). (4) The author's references to a law punishing offences against the Hūṇas show that his work was written at a time when his country occupied a dependent position and was afraid of the Hūṇas. This was in fact the position of the Malwa empire during the last part of the 5th century.

A. VENKATASUBBIA.—*A Buddhist Parallel to the Avimāraka.* Parallelism between a story in the Kuṇālajātaka and the main facts of the drama *Avimāraka* has been pointed out in this [illegible] Different versions of the story have also been shown to exist [illegible] *Kathāsaritsāgara* as well as in the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

vol. xvi, pts. iii and iv.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Problems of Saka Sātavāhana History.*—Mr. Jayaswal first states the conclusions of Dr. Sten Konow, with which he agrees, e.g., ayasa, the date (year 1) on the Peshawar casket of Kaṇiṣka Khalastse Inscription, identification of Kuyula Kaphasa, arrangement of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, and Kamboja. The writer then states the points, on which he differs from Dr. Sten Konow and gives his own views. They are

Re. Śaka History :—Bhūmaka—The two Śaka Eras and the Founder of the Era of 78 A.D.—The Date of the earlier Śaka Conquest—Date of the earlier Śaka Era—Years of Gondophares—Chinese date for Kuṣāṇa Kadphises and W'ima—Date of Śoḍāsa—Patika—Nahapāṇa—Vikrama era—Kuṣāṇas.

Re. Śātavāhana History :—Struggle of the Śātavāhana dyn with the Śuṅgas and the Śakas—Chronology of Śātakarṇi II and son Pulumāvi—Early Śātavāhana or Andhra kings—Fixed Poi in the Śātavāhana Chronology—Order of the Kings—Purāṇas a Nahapāṇa—New Light on Nahapāṇa—Identification of the Nānāghā Statues—Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras—Appendix A : Extracts from Āvaśyakasūtra (uttarārdha pūrvabhāga) and Abhidhāna-rājendra—The last Kāṇvāyana and his Śātavāhana Conqueror—Identification of Guṇāḍhya's and Somadeva's Vikramāditya and the Śātavāhana of 78 A.D.—Course of events after 83 A.D.—Identification of the Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras—Their Reign-Periods—Verification of the numbers of kings and reign-periods in the contemporary dynasties—The Śakas of the Purāṇas—Traikūṭa Era—The Purāṇas and the so-called Dark Period.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Linguistic Analysis and Dravidian ames denoting 'Peacock' and 'Bat.'*—The object of the writer substantiate the theory propounded by Prof. J. Przyluski that there were in pre-Aryan India not only Dravidians but also a large tion of Austrics by showing that there were mutual loans words between Dravidians and Austrics. In this paper, the er proposes "to discuss purely from the standpoint of the Dravidist, the possibilities of Dravido-Austric relationship" in connection with certain Dravidian forms denoting the names of (i) Peacock and (ii) Bat.

SYED MOHAMMAD.—*Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna.*—The writer has edited and translated 112 inscriptions dating from 916 to 1276 (Hijri era). He classifies them into four sections, the first section includes those which "refer to the royalties, governors, their deputies and other servants" and fall within the time of Aurangzeb ; the second contains the inscriptions of the wea rulers who followed Aurangzeb within 50 years (i.e. up to 1757–the date of the battle of Plassey) ; the third speaks of the inscriptions on mosques and tombs (1757-1807) and the fourth of es built by barbers, drum-makers and the like (1807-1857). There is also an index to names in the above mentioned inscriptions.

N. TRIPATHI.—*Two Sulki Plates.* These records were published by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī in vol. II, pt. iv of this journal (JBORS.). The present writer identifies the following geographical names and itles : *Kodālo, Stambha* and *Stambheśvarī,* and *Gondrama.* He gives the readings, in which he differs from those of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī.

. TRIPATHI.—*Jayapura Copper-plate grant of Dhruvānanda Deva.* The writer gives a revised reading of this inscription first published by Dr. A. Banerji Śāstrī in the JBORS. 1929 with a free translation of the text and notes on the script, date, language and the identification of Jayapura and Gondrama. He has appended a note on the words. *Nanda, Varṇacatuṣṭayaḥ, Godhā, Parama Saugata, Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda and Rājanaka.*

March, 1931

BINAYAK MISRA.—*Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta* IV. This inscription has been edited with translation and ample historical notes. It was a grant issuec nagara (=Biṅkā in the Sonepur State), the donor was Uddyotakeśarī, son of Yayāti II, whose reign 960-70 A.C. The date of Uddyotakeśarī is placed century A.C.

TARAPADA CHOWDHURY.—*On the Interpretation of Words in the Atharva-veda.* The writer deals with words :—ákṣu, ákṣya, ádrūkṣṇa, ádroghāvitā, aparāpar alají, álpaśayu, ávarjuṣīṇām, aśvakṣabhā, asaṃsūktagilá, áharjāta, aṇḍīka, āśuṅgá, āsrāvá, uttaradraú, ṛdantu, éru, kákutsala, kanáknaka, kamála, kalmalí, kúmba, kurīra, kurūṭinī, khaḍūra, khṛgala, galuntáḥ, ghṛtastāvas, cīti, jabhya, tardá, tāyādarám, tiriṭin, turmiśam, taimātá, taulá, duradabhnā, dūrśá, nyá, paṭūrá, paruṣá, párśāna, pavásta, pṛṣṭi, péṣṭra, prārtha, bhṛmalá, maṇ(n)aú, madhyamaśīr, mūra, mūradeva, vrā, samuṣpalā, suśīma.

Hirananda Sastri.—*Were Rāgamālās painted by the Artists of Kangara.* The object of this paper is to refute the contention of Coomaraswamy that the "Kāṅgrā painters never painted Rāgamālās.' He comments also on the sense of the nomenclature 'Kāṅgrā School' or 'Pāhāṛī School.'

Binayak Misra.—*Copper-plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja.* "The grant records the gift of the village *Sthambakūralauṇḍaka* of the Olā-śṛṅga District." The gift was made in memory of the merit Bāsaṭādevī, the deceased queen of the donor. In the introdu tion the writer deals with the history of the Bhañja famil Mayūrabhañja.

Sudhakar Patnaik.—*Śobhaneśvar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyan.* This inscription contains a Praśasti and was found on the Śob neśvar temple (near Puri). The temple was built by King Vaidl. nāth.

Paramatma Śaran.—*Sher Shah's Revenue System.* The object of the writer is to examine the conclusions already arrived at by Qanungo and Moreland in the light of evidences supplied by the original works. He takes up three main questions: "(1) the mode of assessment, (2) the form of payment, (3) the proportion or amount of the state share," and studies them "in respect of the two periods of Sher Shah's administration, viz., the period of his governorship of his father's jagir, and second, the period of his kingship."

Mathuralal Sharma.—*Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism.* The writer has collected the beliefs and superstitions referred in the early Buddhist literature as well as in the works of Buddhism,

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. ii

MANABHAYYA.—*Ancient Bhṛgus.* In continuation of the article amplifying the theme that the Drāviḍas, Asūras and Bhṛgus are identical, an account of the chief Bhṛgu leaders mentioned in literature has been given here as also of their original home and their relation with the outside world.

N. Aiyaswami Sastri.—*References to Ancient Stories in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

T. N. Ramachandra.—*Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja.* These dated plates of the 14th century record the grant of a village called

Kaṇḍvakolnu to Viśvanātha, a Śaiva teacher at Śrī Parvata by Bhaktirāja Coḍa who was also known by the name Kāmarāja belonging to the Sūryavaṃśa. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it gives the genealogy of an unknown line of local chiefs, who call themselves Coḍas of the solar race.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

TUCCI.—*Notes on the Nyāyapraveśa by Śaṅkarasvāmin.* Prof. Tucci has studied the commentary of Kúei-chi on the Nyāyapraveśa recently published in the Gækwad's Oriental Series. Kúei-chi was a disciple of Yuan Chwang and had a wide knowledge of the Indian philosophy. Prof. Tucci presents in this article only those discussions which seemed to him to have elucidated the problems tackled in the *Nyāyapraveśa* in greater details.

S. K. DE.—*A Note on Pañcakāla in connection with Pañcarātra.*

CORRECTION SLIP

(*I.H.Q.*, March, 1931)

P. 197	*line* 23,	Read	*houses*	for	*horses*
P. 200	*line* 5,	"	*embellishments*	for	*embellishment*
P. 200	*line* 20,	"	*friezes*	for	*griezes*

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A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship......... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

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